



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-93-059
Tuesday
30 March 1993

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Rwanda

RPF Chairman Denies Massacres, Describes Situation

EA3003103693 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in Kinyarwanda to Rwanda 1715 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Text] Dear listeners, we are bringing you a press release from the office of the chairman of the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] in Byumba [northern Rwanda] on 26 March:

On 21 February, the RPF announced (?for a while) that it was unilaterally pulling back to its first [word indistinct] occupied before 8 February. This unprecedented act was meant to facilitate the return of thousands of displaced people whose plight was of great concern to the RPF.

This decision was formalized by the Dar es Salaam accord on 7 March signed by Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe, RPF chairman, on behalf of the RPF, and Dr. Dismas Nsengiyaremye, prime minister of the Republic of Rwanda, on behalf of the Government of Rwanda. The timetable for the pullback was released and announced by both sides.

It was agreed that as soon as the RPF completed its pullback, the displaced people would return to the demilitarized zone [words indistinct]. The RPF did pull back on 17 March, but up to now the Government of Rwanda has continued to bar would-be returnees under the pretext of lack of security in this zone, which had been occupied by the RPF and is now under the neutral Military Observer Group, the MOG. The Government of Rwanda has instead started wild propaganda claiming that:

1. The RPF mined the area before pulling back;
2. The RPF is infiltrating the area and abducting the civilian population that [words indistinct];
3. The RPF massacred the civilian population and buried them in mass graves.

We deny these accusations, which have no foundation whatsoever.

1. That the RPF mined the area before pulling back, we reiterate, as we have done before, that we left no mines in the area we occupied between 8 February and 17 March. Our pulling back was meant to facilitate the return of the displaced people. We cannot, therefore, at the same time leave behind mines meant to hinder this very activity. We are not at war with the civilian population. It is evident, however, that the Government of Rwanda does not want the displaced people to return to this zone. As a result, the government forces are infiltrating the area to [passage indistinct]. Indeed, those people left behind by the RPF have been assaulted by government infiltrators, and some of them have had to seek refuge behind the current RPF lines. These refugees give testimony to the activities of these government infiltrators.

2. That the RPF is infiltrating into and abducting civilians within the demilitarized zone. The population currently in the demilitarized zone is the same population which was originally behind the RPF line. The government has barred the return of their counterparts behind the government forces. The RPF does not have any interest in infiltrating the zone that it left of its own accord. Instead, as said above, the government agents are infiltrating the area so as to create terror for would-be returnees. In addition, these agents are coming to terrorize the people who did not run ahead of the government forces, accusing them of being RPF collaborators. Some of the citizens have been forced to run to the RPF-controlled zone, and others have been abducted and killed by the government forces. These are some of the people that government propaganda claims have been abducted by the RPF.

Indeed, this claim of abduction is meant to account for the disappearance of some people left behind by the RPF who have either been secretly killed by government agents or have been forced to flee. Indeed, reliable sources from the government forces say that soldiers born in the area have been gathered together to carry out these government infiltrations and harassment of innocent citizens left behind by the RPF under the notorious accusation of collaboration, (?which is not true), thus making this zone too insecure for the population to return.

3. That the RPF massacred and buried people in mass graves. As we have said before, the RPF does not aim its guns at the civilian population. We shoot at legitimate targets only. However, it is true that some civilians were killed in recent fighting between the RPF forces and government forces in the following circumstances:

1. Government forces made civilians human shields by using them to carry [word indistinct] and to guide them to the Rwandan Patriotic Army [RPA] positions;

2. Government forces [word indistinct] their defenses in the middle of the civilian population, thus becoming victims of [word indistinct];

3. The government has armed civilian [word indistinct] from the Coalition for the Defense of the Republic and the Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development coalition and sent them to the front, thus making them legitimate targets;

4. The government forces committed acts of revenge as they withdrew, accusing them of being RPA collaborators.

These killings are still going on today, as mentioned above. Their major crime though is [word indistinct] their ethnic or party affiliation. As for mass graves, they are regularly being found in the Ngarama [northern Rwanda] demilitarized zone, but the RPF is not responsible for such graves if they [word indistinct] be. Indeed we condemn such inhuman acts.

We would like to point out, however, the fact that mass graves are typical of the Government of Rwanda, and the international human rights commission report that came out recently bears witness to this. Mass graves were found at Rusumo [eastern Rwanda] in the compound of magistrates of (Kinugu), (Kigirira) etc. They are bound to be elsewhere. Therefore it would not be surprising if there is a mass grave in Ngarama.

The propaganda of lies carried out by the Government of Rwanda has the following objectives:

1. To distract Rwandans and foreigners from the killings and other crimes that characterize the Habyarimana regime and that of his clique;

2. To discourage displaced people from returning to their homes so that they cannot come close to the RPF and the people who lived peacefully with the RPF before our forces pulled back to the positions they occupied before 8 February. The Government of Rwanda does not want Rwandans to know that the RPF is fighting for the truth. They will continue to be used by Habyarimana in the search for foreign aid which will ultimately be used by the ruling clique;

3. To sow hatred between the RPF and the people;

4. To prepare and continue war, for Habyarimana and his clique are not happy with the Arusha talks [in northern Tanzania] to which all the Rwandans are turning their hopes for peace. The RPF requests the Government of Rwanda to allow those people who live miserably as refugees to return to their properties without any hindrance. We also ask them to stop the victimization of the innocent people which is continuing to take place in our country and to resort to peace negotiations to which we have committed ourselves and stop spreading lies.

This statement was signed on behalf of Col. Alexis Kanyarengwe, the RPF president, and by the vice-president of the RPF, on 26 March.

Zaire

Mobutu Formally Appoints Birindwa Prime Minister

AB2903215093 Paris AFP in French 2019 GMT
29 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Kinshasa, 29 Mar (AFP)—Faustin Birindwa has formally been appointed Zaire's prime minister, according to a Marshall Mobutu ordinance signed today in accordance with the Constitution, the spokesman at the Presidency announced on national television. Mr. Faustin Birindwa, former associate of Mr. Etienne Tshisekedi, equally opposed to Marshall Mobutu's regime, was nominated candidate for the office of prime minister by a political conclave which convened in Kinshasa from 9 to 19 March on the initiative of the president. The spokesman of the Presidency said that as

a result of this investiture, Mr. Birindwa is expected to present his cabinet list within the next few hours. [passage omitted]

Speaker of National Assembly Opens Session

AB2903213993 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French 1800
GMT 29 Mar 93

[Excerpts] National Assembly speaker (Ansrioni Bembe Issiony) chaired the extraordinary session of the National Assembly this morning. The session was opened at exactly 1100 in the presence of numerous deputies. Makoli Bamba has details:

[Bamba] It was in the presence of 130 deputies and 30 [word indistinct], or a total of 160 parliamentarians that the extraordinary session of the National Assembly which was called by President Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko opened. This plenary session was chaired by (Ansrioni Bembe Issiony), speaker of the National Assembly. Three points were on the agenda: the national assembly speaker's opening address, validation of the powers of alternate members, and the adoption of the acts concerning harmonized constitutional texts during the transitional period. [passage omitted]

The point on the adoption of the act concerning the harmonized constitutional texts during the transitional period was hotly debated at the National Palace. The deputies examined the power conferred on the head of state by the Kinshasa political conclave, and relations between the High Council of the Republic [HCR] and Parliament, especially the prerogatives of the HCR as recognized by the Constitution. Today's general debate ended at 1530. The session will resume tomorrow at 1000 with the response of the attorney general of the Republic to the concerns of the deputies before moving to the adoption of the transitional text. This session will be nonstop, given the urgency the clause on the harmonization of constitutional texts puts on the efforts at easing the political tension in Zaire. The speaker also underscored the importance of the work expected of this extraordinary session—work which will end the conflict between the transitional institutions. Let us listen to (Ansrioni Bembe Issiony):

[Begin recording] It is with much joy that we met again this morning in this historical assembly hall of the National Palace to attend the opening session of this extraordinary session summoned by Ordinance No. 93051 of 19 March from the president of the Republic in conformity with the terms of Article 81 of the Constitution. [passage omitted]

This extraordinary session is opening, as you have noted, at a time when a multiform crisis raging in our country has reached its highest point. So, in view of the present serious situation, I appeal to your sense of patriotism and duty to fully use the few days left for the opening of the ordinary session in April to examine with seriousness, due to their importance, the two points for which the present extraordinary session has been summoned,

namely the validation and examination of the powers and the adoption of the constitutional texts of the constitution. [passage omitted]

As I have just said, this extraordinary session has been convened after the Kinshasa political conclave. You know that for some time now, the political climate in our country has deteriorated following a confusion deliberately created and sustained concomitantly by the application of several contradictory constitutional texts, thus causing an institutional conflict at the highest level of the state, more particularly between the president of the Republic and the prime minister and head of government. This conflicting situation has not only caused a serious crisis which has paralyzed the smooth functioning of the state, as well the activities of the national life, but also plunged the people into total misery.

In the face of this serious crisis, the head of state, in his capability as the guarantor of the nation, national unity, and territorial integrity, summoned a roundtable, called a conclave, which was attended by delegates from all the regions of the country, political platforms, public institutions, the army, the civilian population, and organizations of women. The National Assembly was also represented by its Bureau, led by its chairman. [passage omitted]

Concerning the formation of a broad-based national union and public salvation government, the delegates to the conclave have decided upon the structure of the conclave, proposed its program, and elected by consensus a prime minister-designate in the person of Faustin Birindwa, to whom, on behalf of all the deputies, we renew our sincere congratulations and wish him success in his term of office. [end recording]

HCR Notes 'Shortcomings' in Tshisekedi Cabinet

AB2903205093 Paris AFP in French 1854 GMT
29 Mar 93

[Text] Kinshasa, 29 Mar (AFP)—The chairman of the High Council of the Republic [HCR], Monsignor Laurent Monsengwo, has said that the list of government members proposed on 22 March by Mr. Etienne Tshisekedi has "some shortcomings" and "only partially fulfills the criteria" defined by the HCR in a letter it sent to Mr. Tshisekedi. The HCR, which has been asking Mr. Tshisekedi for two months to present to it a "reshuffled" government, had defined as a criteria for membership a balance between political, regional, and technical competence.

In a letter dated 27 March, a copy of which reached AFP, Monsignor Monsengwo pointed out that the team of government members proposed only partially satisfies the criteria outlined by the HCR and "contains some shortcomings." Therefore he calls on Mr. Tshisekedi, in view of these observations, to take "the necessary actions he deems fit in the interest of the nation."

On 26 March, an authoritative HCR spokesman said that after a "rowdy" debate, the plenary session of the HCR, chaired by the first vice chairman, Mr. Joseph Ileo, felt that the government proposed by Mr. Tshisekedi "conformed to the criteria" outlined by the HCR. The letter also confirms that the decision made at the plenary session should not be confused with the Cabinet swearing in ceremony as provided for under the Constitution, which enables the Cabinet to be operational, because this is not in the competence of the HCR. The letter reminds the prime minister that it is his duty "to contact the head of state to agree on the people to man the ministries of defense and foreign affairs and to get the appointment decree of your Cabinet."

Mr. Tshisekedi was relieved of his post as prime minister on 6 February by Marshal Mobutu, but the HCR, which still considers him as the head of government, had warned him to present a "reshuffled and enlarged" Cabinet corresponding to defined criteria.

Kriel Rejects Joint Control of Security Forces With ANC*MB2903153393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1301 GMT 29 Mar 93*

[Text] Parliament March 29 SAPA—The government rejected joint control with the ANC [African National Congress] over the security forces and Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—MK; ANC military wing], the minister of law and order, Mr Hernus Kriel, said on Monday. Speaking in the budget debate, he said members of MK were "nothing but criminals" and their standard of training was extremely low. "We are not interested in joint control over criminals," he said. He also said the security forces were going to stabilise the country "come hell or high water".

Mr Kriel said there could be no talk about power sharing and a bill of fundamental rights before the problem of violence had been addressed effectively. The ANC solution was joint control over the security forces. If this was implemented, the ANC and government would have a joint say over the South African Defence Force [SADF] and the SA Police, forces with strict military discipline, which were answerable to the law of the land.

"But what is it if we have joint control over Umkhonto we Sizwe? What does Umkhonto we Sizwe look like?" Mr Kriel asked. This so-called liberation army was an organisation that had failed miserably to liberate SA. Its standard of training was extremely low, and its members could not be accepted in a military organisation unless they were thoroughly trained.

Umkhonto members were "nothing but criminals and involved in criminality". The government was not interested in joint control over criminals or over their illegal or smuggled weapons.

Mr Kriel said that when the government announced a major SADF callup and a ten point crime fighting plan for the police last week, the only reaction from the ANC had been that the government was once again trying to find a military solution to political problems. He asked whether the ANC did not want to find solutions for SA and a way of ending its conflict with Inkatha.

"The question arises whether the ANC can only operate in a climate of violence," he said. ANC and Inkatha representatives sat around the negotiating table with tears in their eyes talking about the killings, while they knew that their comrades were busy planning and carrying out murder and death against other black people.

The security forces would be moving in the countryside in the next few weeks. "Our aim is to stabilise the country and we will get it right come hell or high water," he said. It was simply not true that this was being done for the sake of whites alone. There were large numbers of black people who were sick of the violence, the political murders, and the political leaders who did nothing to control their followers.

"The security forces are going into SA to assist everybody in this country, as friends of the peace seekers. But we have declared war against the warmongers and criminals."

Mr Kriel said the recent statement by ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela that the security forces were responsible for the violence in the country was based on incorrect information and was simply not true.

Between November 1, 1991 and March 18 this year a total of 213 breaches of the National Peace Accord by the ANC had been registered. Over the same period there had been 19 breaches by the SA Communist Party, 22 by COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and 28 by Inkatha. Mr Kriel asked whether Mr Mandela knew that between September 1, 1991 and the end of December last year, 133 ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe members had been arrested for illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

In 1992, 226 policemen had died in the execution of their duties. "Why would the police, the security forces, be instrumental in stoking the violence in the country when it is they themselves who are murdered," he asked. "Is this not stupid?"

"The smokescreen ... grasped by the ANC and other organisations simply doesn't work any more. It is time they accepted responsibility in this regard."

He asked whether the country had forgotten the role MK had played in the past in attacking innocent civilians, murdering policemen and black councillors, threatening sellouts and bombing restaurants. "Have we forgotten that the ANC developed the necklace murders? And then we (the state) are accused of instigating and carrying out violence in this country."

A total of 3,562 people had died in the so-called armed struggle between 1985 and 1989. But in the period since apartheid was scrapped and organisations unbanned, another 7,680 had died. "This is not the government. That is black-on-black violence. It is a more than 100 percent increase since apartheid was done away with... Does the ANC have clean hands? The time for truth has come."

ANC Reacts to Refusal*MB2903165693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1606 GMT 29 Mar 93*

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town March 29 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] and the government were put back on a collision course on Monday [29 March] when the minister of law and order, Mr Hernus Kriel, rejected outright joint control over the police and armed forces. He also refused joint control over Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] (MK), the ANC's armed wing,

telling Parliament security forces would move into the rural areas and stabilise South Africa "come hell or high water."

Joint control over all armed forces is a central issue in current negotiations around the transition to a democratic South Africa. Mr Kriel's stand was the most categorical and potentially a serious threat to the rapid progress generally expected of the resumed process of multi-party talks.

The ANC reacted by saying if Mr Kriel's rejection of joint control was more than his personal opinion, there was a serious problem facing the negotiations process. The first meeting of the re-launched multi-party negotiations forum is scheduled to sit on Thursday and Friday at the World Trade Centre.

Mr Kriel said during the budget debate the demand for joint control was a ploy to gain control over the country's disciplined security forces. The government however rejected joint control over the uncontrolled forces of MK, its uncontrolled arms caches and uncontrolled arms smuggling.

Many of its cadres were criminals, undisciplined and ill-trained and could not be assimilated in a military organisation without training. Joint control would not stop the killing in Natal, nor the arms smuggling by the ANC and IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party].

Responding to his speech, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said Mr Kriel was clearly playing politics and the ANC could follow suit by citing statistics to show the SADF [South African Defense Force] and SAP [South African Police] were out of control, particularly with the almost weekly deaths in police custody.

What Mr Kriel was saying flew in the face of what was urgently necessary, Mr Niehaus said. There was an urgent need for the integration of armed forces under joint control of the sub-councils of the transitional executive council. This objective was only attainable through negotiations and ANC proposals in this regard had not yet received a proper government response.

"The question is whether this is his (Mr Kriel's) personal view or that of the government in general. If it is the latter, we have a serious problem."

For the overwhelming majority of South Africans the SAP was illegitimate. The only way for it to retrieve legitimacy was for it to come under joint political control with other armed forces, Mr Niehaus said.

Joint control, the ANC argues, is a prerequisite in the struggle against political violence and the only route towards bringing armed forces such as the PAC's [Pan-Africanist Congress] APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] to heel. This position has been repeatedly stressed in the most recent spate of attacks—allegedly by APLA—on whites.

It is understood Mr Kriel's speech on Monday afternoon came against a background of police intelligence said to show a growing disaffection in MK ranks with the moderate leadership of Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. These dissidents, it is claimed, were making common cause with the more extremist APLA cadres and posed a serious security threat, to whites in particular, if joint action were to result.

ANC's Ramaphosa Comments

MB2903174993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1643
GMT 29 Mar 93

[By Sipke de Vries]

[Text] Johannesburg March 29 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] remains firm in its position that there will be no singular public scrutiny of its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—MK] without concomitant scrutiny of all other armed formations in South Africa. ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa, discussing future armed formations at a briefing for journalists in Johannesburg on Monday [29 March], said the government had earlier insisted the ANC provide details of MK arms and personnel, but the ANC believed this to be the wrong approach.

"All armed formations, including the SADF [South African Defense Force], the armed forces of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states, kwaZulu, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army and right-wing armed units should be dealt with collectively during the pre-transitional executive council phase," Mr Ramaphosa said.

He repeated the ANC's earlier rejection of South African Army Chief Lt-Gen Georg Meiring's offer to have MK integrated into the South African Army. "As far as we are concerned the SADF is still an illegitimate organisation which fought for apartheid and as yet does not represent the nation."

The ANC said in order to ensure proper control of all the armed forces during the transitional period leading up to the election of a national assembly, joint control by the representatives of the armed forces had to be established as a priority. This body could control the armed formations individually and collectively and would prevent the SADF from being in sole control of the armed forces, Mr Ramaphosa said.

He hoped the preliminary multiparty talks, as yet unnamed and due to be held on Thursday and Friday, would give more impetus to the negotiation process, and the armed forces issue as well as the question of violence would be high on the list.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC's proposals on the control of the armed forces during the transitional period had not been discussed with other organisations such as the Pan Africanist Congress, but had been tabled during bilateral talks with the government as early as January.

They would still have to be put before the multiparty forum when the question of violence was discussed, he said.

AWB Refuses To Join Future Defense Force

MB3003065993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2159 GMT 29 Mar 93

[By Neil Oelofse]

[Text] Vereeniging Mar 29 SAPA—The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's [Afrikaner Resistance Movement—AWB] commandos would not be drawn into a future defence force, AWP Leader Eugene Terreblanche said on Monday [29 March] night.

Rejecting African National Congress [ANC] Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa's suggestion earlier on Monday [29 March] that all military forces, including rightwing armies, form part of the future defence force, Mr Terreblanche said the "volk's [people's] army" was not for sale.

He was speaking at a public meeting in the Vereeniging town hall, attended by about 1,500 rightwing supporters.

He said the AWP would not accept an ANC government and would not be prepared to share power.

"We demand the right to govern ourselves."

The ANC was not interested in power-sharing as envisaged by the government, said Mr Terreblanche. "They want our country".

The time had arrived for white people to form military organisations in order to defend themselves.

"We don't want war, but we are not prepared to bow down before the communists, (so) we are preparing to fight."

Mr Terreblanche twice denied that he was a racist: "I don't hate people of other colour, I am a nationalist, I love my colour".

Afrikaner children resented being forced to go to school with black children. "We don't even want to go to school with the English."

He issued a challenge to Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] Secretary-General Benny Alexander, whom he called a "pumpkin head", for the PAC to meet the AWP "man for man".

Mr Terreblanche also said the government's recently announced 10-point plan to combat crime and violence would not work.

"The government has never had a plan that worked."

He closed his speech with the words: "Long live the revolution" to wild cheering from his audience.

Mr Terreblanche shared the platform with Conservative Party MP Fanie van Vuuren and the general manager of the all-white SA [South Africa] Iron and Steel and Allied Industries Union, Nic Cilliers.

Mr van Vuuren said the two children and the woman shot dead at Eikenhof south of Johannesburg on March 19, had paid the price for President F. W. de Klerk allowing a free hand for the PAC, its armed wing the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation].

Mr Cilliers said it was logical for white workers to seek protection within the ranks of the AWP because the organisation understood the dilemma and struggle white workers were experiencing.

Multiparty Talks Delegates Finalize Agenda for Session

MB3003154793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1508 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Johannesburg March 30 SAPA—Delegates at the negotiating council meeting at the world trade centre in Kempton Park near Johannesburg to finalise multiparty talks on Thursday and Friday have unanimously adopted an agenda for the two-day plenary session.

SAPA obtained a copy of the eight-point agenda, which was agreed upon by the 26 delegates and their advisers earlier on Tuesday.

After initially accepting the agenda for Thursday and Friday, it is understood the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] later on Tuesday attempted to introduce a ninth point, asking for the inclusion of "the form of state" as a separate item.

The request was rejected after delegates pointed out that the IFP had initially accepted the draft agenda, and had therefore bound itself.

The issue may resurface later, IFP officials privately said.

The agenda has the following points:

1. A moment of silence.
2. Opening statement by chairperson.
3. Confirmation of agenda.
4. Mechanisms and procedures.
 - 4.1. Standing rules.
 - 4.2. Name of the multiparty negotiating forum.
 - 4.3. Composition and structure of the multiparty negotiating forum.
 - 4.4. Participation.
5. Violence and its impact on the negotiating process.
6. The transitional process.
 - 6.1. Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] agreements and the accommodation of those participants who were not in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

- 6.2. Phases of the transition.
- 6.3. The role of the international community.
7. The way forward/instructions to the negotiating council.
8. Closure.

The council also decided later on Tuesday to beef-up representation of women in all the negotiating structures.

Pik Botha Asks Lesotho Leaders To Await Election Verdict

MB2903170393 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1500 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] South Africa has appealed to all political leaders in Lesotho to await the verdict by Lesotho chief electoral officer, Jocelyn Lucas, on whether the elections were free and fair, and not to preempt their assessment. Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said the assessment was likely to be made public by Friday [2 April].

Earlier, the Basotholand National Party [BNP] rejected the results and said it was considering taking legal steps. So far the Basotholand National Party has failed to win a seat, the Basotholand Congress Party [BCP] having secured 34 of the 65 constituencies. The 13 UN observers monitoring the elections declared it to be free and fair. The results of the remaining seats were expected later today.

Government Not To Incorporate Transkei Unilaterally

MB2903174093 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1500 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Pik Botha has indicated the government will not take unilateral action to reincorporate Transkei. South Africa's foreign minister had been asked for comment on newspaper reports over the weekend that predicted tough South African action to punish Transkei for its alleged support of APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army]. But Botha says the incorporation of the homeland will only be decided on if there is general agreement on such a step in multiparty talks. Botha says the government will say more on the subject in a day or two.

Meiring Addresses Disbandment of 32d Battalion

MB2703064393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2106 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] Pomfret Mar 26 SAPA—The controversial South African Defence Force 32 Battalion was officially disbanded at a parade at its northern Cape Home base, Pomfret, on Friday.

The unit, comprising mainly former Angolans trained by the South African Army during the Angolan civil war in 1975/6, was moved to South Africa from its western Caprivi base in 1989.

At the unit's final parade at Pomfret on Friday, South African Army Chief Lieutenant-General Georg Meiring paid homage to the unit, saying since its deployment in South Africa it had done an excellent job.

"Under very difficult circumstances 32 Battalion distinguished itself on numerous occasions," Gen Meiring said.

He said members of the unit are to be transferred to other army units.

The army chief reiterated that 32 Battalion members were not mercenaries, but fully-attested members of the SA Army.

He added that prior to the transfer of soldiers to other units, a community preparatory programme had been introduced to give members and their families an insight into community life outside Pomfret.

Language courses in both official languages would also be given to Portuguese-speaking 32 Battalion members and their families.

At present about 6,000 people are living at the Pomfret military base—a former northern Cape mining settlement.

Gen Meiring said the Pomfret military base would not be closed—planning for the utilisation of existing facilities had already reached "an advanced stage".

Further details on the future of the base would be announced at a later stage, Gen Meiring said.

AWB Leader on Violence, Retaliation Unit

MB2703140093 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Interview with Afrikaner Resistance Movement leader Eugene Terreblanche, in the Bloemfontein studio, by South African Broadcasting Corporation reporter Freek Robinson, in the Johannesburg studio, on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Robinson] The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement—AWB] announced yesterday [23 March] that a secret retaliation unit has been formed to launch revenge attacks. AWB leaders, however, have said they will not accept responsibility for either the unit or its actions. To find out what he has to say on the matter, we now speak to AWB leader Mr. Eugene Terreblanche in our Bloemfontein studio. Good evening, Mr. Terreblanche. Can you hear me?

[Terreblanche] Yes, loud and clear. Thank you, Mr. Robinson.

[Robinson] Mr. Terreblanche, let's begin by clearing up the first point. You made the announcement about the formation of the retaliation unit; you also say you are not part of it, yet AWB members are involved. What exactly is your relationship with this unit?

[Terreblanche] At the moment we know too little about the unit, but for quite some time now there has been pressure from AWB members, and in particular from its commando units, that something should be done about the attacks by APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] and those who do not hesitate to murder unarmed, innocent people.

[Robinson] Some of your followers are members of the unit?

[Terreblanche] According to our information and the document which was handed to us, they declare that they are loyal AWB members; that they do not expect the AWB leadership to accept responsibility for their actions; that the unit has been formed due to the urgency of the matter; and that they are no longer prepared to see innocent people being murdered by those who claim to be involved in an armed struggle, yet who murder unarmed, innocent individuals.

[Robinson] Who gave you the document?

[Terreblanche] The document was delivered by hand during our absence and left at a place where we were sure to find it. I must say that in the present situation in our country, when our security forces are being held back by politicians to the extent that they cannot carry out their work, especially with regard to murderers and terrorists, I quite understand the attitude of these people, and I expect that there will indeed be retaliation by these units.

[Robinson] You say retaliation must take place, or could take place; and you refer to terrorists. Who are these terrorists?

[Terreblanche] Everyone is aware that South Africa has become the prey of several terrorist groups, terrorist groups which have but a single goal, and that is the overthrow of authority so that the country can be changed into a unitary, communist system where the rights and sovereignty of smaller nations will be violently trampled underfoot.

[Robinson] But who would these terrorist groups be?

[Terreblanche] Well, the media have regularly reported the statements of people like Benny Alexander of APLA. It is they who have said they will move into white areas; that they will commit murders; that one bullet will be used per boer. On many occasions they have shouted their slogan: one bullet, one settler. These are the people who have given notice that that is how whites must be murdered.

[Robinson] Would you then say an organization such as APLA must be banned?

[Terreblanche] But of course. Because of the inability of our police and our government, such an organization is not being prohibited and thus cannot be stopped. Senior and responsible policemen said a day or two ago on television that it would not help to prohibit APLA because they would simply go underground. That is

pathetic. When an organization is prohibited, it means the security forces can trace every member of such an organization which is responsible for such deeds and remove it from the community so that these actions will not take place.

[Robinson] You are aware that the state president today announced the arrest of 18 APLA members?

[Terreblanche] This is not about 18 APLA members, this is about an organization which is targeting women, children, and unarmed people, to demoralize the strong through those actions, to render the country ungovernable, and to force government forces to capitulate.

[Robinson] Don't you trust the police to control the situation?

[Terreblanche] I don't think the SAP [South African Police] are empowered, with its present members, to trace APLA murderers. It can only do that when the deed has already been committed. The ideal would be that when such an organization, which has already claimed responsibility through the media for attacks in white areas, that such an organization, before it commits the deed, should be arrested and rendered ineffective. A policeman's first task is indeed to combat a crime. It is unreasonable to expect the SAP [South African Police]—after the crimes have been committed—to track down these people one by one, who hide in holes during the day and commit murders at night.

[Robinson] The question can be asked, Mr. Terreblanche, if you are not merely in the same situation as the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and APLA—that a movement exists for which you do not want to accept responsibility and that they, in reality, could begin a race war?

[Terreblanche] That is a strange question, with all due respect Mr. Robinson. The AWB is not planning to take away another nation's fatherland and to deny it its rights, through violence or in any other way. The AWB is a self-defense unit.

[Robinson] Are you able to discipline other people—your own people—so that they do not make use of violence?

[Terreblanche] We have just listened to the state president, or rather, to Mr. Botha, minister of foreign affairs, who admitted that his present state president, and even himself, was not aware at one stage that the greatest force on earth—an atom bomb—was being developed in South Africa. So, it is not possible to—the AWB with its thousands [pauses] We have a situation where a few scientists could not even be controlled. Now to ask the AWB with its many thousands of commandos and Iron Guard members to accept responsibility [pauses] What do they do in this situation created by the government? The government of the day is responsible for the chaos and the confusion, and for controlling organizations such as APLA and Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of

the Nation; ANC military wing], who have been waging a war of terror for years by hitting soft targets.

[Robinson] Mr. Terreblanche, thank you for your participation. As you are aware, we are going to discuss the Afrikaner and his future on Sunday [28 March]. Mr. Eugene Terreblanche has also been invited. I hope we are going to have a good discussion on Sunday. Until then, all the best.

[Terreblanche] Thank you Mr. Robinson.

ANC Patriotic Front Conference Begins 27 Mar
MB2703203193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2000
GMT 27 Mar 93

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Johannesburg March 27 SAPA--A considerably leaner "Patriotic Front" ended its first day under the auspices of the African National Congress [ANC] on Saturday [27 March] night, with delegates merely rubber stamping ANC positions on negotiations, levelling the political playing field and endorsing a sovereign constituent assembly.

When ANC President Nelson Mandela spoke at the conference in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg, there were about 150 delegates present from more than 50 political, religious, cultural and homeland organisations.

But by Saturday evening, less than a third remained. Besides three senior members on the podium, the ANC's delegation had whittled down to two on the floor.

The Labour Party was the largest delegation at the close of the first day's proceedings shortly before 7pm.

Earlier, ANC National Executive Committee [NEC] member Mac Maharaj mapped out five phases which the ANC viewed as necessary for full democracy.

These were:

- levelling the political playing field leading to free and fair elections through instruments such as the transitional executive council, an independent media commission, a delimitations commission and other sub-councils as well as the repeal of restrictive legislation;
- the elections and the setting of a date;
- the setting up of the constituent assembly (CA);
- the creation of an interim government of national unity; and
- after the drawing up of the constitution, the creation of a government of national unity and reconstruction.

SA [South Africa] Communist Party chief, Joe Slovo, in his input on the CA, said the ANC envisaged 200 national and 200 regional representatives, with voters casting their ballot for a party once.

"That vote will go towards the national and regional lists. For example, in Natal, if the ANC gets 60 per cent of the votes, that 60 per cent will go towards the ANC's national and its regional list. There will be a threshold of say three or five per cent for candidates.

"For example, the Inkatha Freedom Party might not make the national list because of its lower national threshold. But, it could make the regional list by way of its support in one area."

The constitution-making body, he added, would be sovereign, but would contain universally accepted principles such as an independent judiciary, multi-party democracy and regular elections.

During debates, serious concern was expressed by some delegates about the conduct of various participants at the conference, especially those from some homelands.

Delegates often accused some homeland delegations of attending the conference and preaching solidarity, but then returning to their areas to harass and intimidate ANC and other political organisations' supporters.

In a keynote address, ANC President Nelson Mandela spoke out sharply against the violence in the country.

"Day in and day out, gruesome murders are committed against innocent people—men, women and children alike. There can be no doubt who the main culprits are," he said.

"Those who instituted a policy that decreed others sub-human in their land of birth could not but rely on violence to maintain their vile system. Those who manufactured nuclear bombs to kill in defence of apartheid cannot be expected to act with compunction when their power is threatened."

The ANC president also obliquely referred to the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, without naming it.

"Political and other organisations have a responsibility to promote peace. They must ensure their members do not act in a manner that undermines these principles. They must scrupulously avoid the danger of their structures and members being used by angels of death," said Mr. Mandela.

He further invited delegates to attend an ANC conference in June this year to deal with the issues of socio-economic reconstruction and the dismantling of apartheid state machinery.

The conference was opened by Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, who said it was sad that the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] had refused to attend the gathering.

"It is a historic tragedy that our brothers of the PAC, whatever the pressures and circumstances are, are without us today as this affords an opportunity to the regime to drive a wedge between the liberation forces by

exploiting and articulating imaginary contradictions between these two organisations (ANC and PAC).

"The regime derives little comfort from any convergence between the ANC and PAC," he said.

On the question of violence, Gen Holomisa said a technical committee should be formed under the multi-lateral negotiations with the United Nations and other international bodies present to deal with the violence issue.

Earlier in the day, Mr. Slovo told delegates the ANC and the government had failed to narrow a wide gap over a future president's powers and functions in their recent series of bilateral meetings.

The issue had been discussed constantly between the two parties in the last few months.

"But there remains an enormous gap between the government and us over the relationship between the president and his cabinet and both sides are not near agreement," said Mr. Slovo.

"Basically, the government wants a future president elected by the majority party to have no more powers than the queen of England. In other words, the government just wants a future president to hand out awards and be purely ceremonial.

"We in essence want the president to be head of state with most powers. He should be head of the executive. But we concede that during an interim government of national unity and reconstruction, which should last at most for five years, the president should have certain specified powers which he can only use in consultation with his cabinet. If there is a dispute, a two-thirds majority decision in the cabinet should suffice."

Mr. Slovo said the ANC had not specified the powers a future president should exercise in consultation with his cabinet, but mooted issues such as a declaration of war against another state, invoking a state of emergency and similar national matters.

Another ANC NEC member, Mr. Mac Maharaj, said the government had tried to get past the issue by substituting its earlier call for a rotating presidency to that of a rotating prime minister.

"But we have rejected this out of hand," he said.

He went on to warn all parties at the conference that the high expectations of the majority of South Africans would not be resolved once the ANC had formed a government after winning an election.

"We have to look at the facts squarely. There have been centuries of apartheid and colonial rule that has caused immense hardship for our people.

"There are immense backlogs in housing, education, health and the unemployment rate is appallingly high by world standards. These problems will take decades to get

rid off. We cannot eradicate them within the five year period of a government of national unity and reconstruction.

"But we will make an impact. By simply replacing the apartheid and racial structures with a new government, we would have made progress. It is not sufficient, but the political progress will impact on issues such as housing, health and education," said Mr. Maharaj.

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation have boycotted the conference, dubbing it the "Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] patriotic front".

The meeting is due to resume at 9.30am on Sunday, when a programme of action will be discussed by all delegates.

Mandela Addresses Participants

MB2703105893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0811 GMT 27 Mar 93

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by African National Congress]

[Text] Comrade chairperson: Honourable leaders of constituent organisations of the Broad Patriotic Front: Comrades delegates: Distinguished guests:

Allow me to extend my warmest greetings to all gathered here. Needless to say, this is one of the most historic meetings in our long march to freedom. It is fitting therefore that we should express our profound gratitude to the PF [Patriotic Front] liaison committee and the Nur-ul-Islam Centre for the splendid work that has gone into preparations for this meeting.

We have assembled on a number of occasions before—representatives of the overwhelming majority of South Africans. In all these instances, we expressed our hope and conviction in the certainty of the victory of democracy over apartheid, peace over conflict, and the good of the country and its people over sectarian interests. But more than at any other time, we meet at a turning point in our struggle, at a time when the efforts of our people are about to bear fruit.

This is a moment to pay tribute to all those who spared neither life nor limb to ensure that the struggle reaches the decisive stage at which it is today. Yet we are fully aware that much more needs to be done.

The light that we can now confidently see at the end of the tunnel means one thing and one thing only: that to reach there we should not be cowed by the darkness that shrouds the landscape. But, equally, we should not underplay the difficulties that we face.

Assembled in this hall are leaders of political parties, organisations of workers, business-persons, students and teachers, religious bodies, cultural workers and many more, to chart the way out of the apartheid quagmire.

The confidence we exude does not issue from the arrogance of illegitimate power. The air of optimism abroad in this conference is not an expression of the self-indulgence of bullies. No. We are confident and we are optimistic because we represent the future.

Our country can no longer countenance endless delays and prevarication. The economy stands ravaged by years of apartheid rule and unparalleled greed. It reeks of corruption in both public and private sectors.

We are here in our variety because we stand for peace, justice and good government. Herein lies our strength: a reflection of the rich tapestry of political, cultural and religious diversity among the majority of South Africans; bound together by the desire to realise our country's interests and our people's aspirations.

We belong together as patriots because we hold the firm view that the people must shape their own future. Their will must, without delay, find expression in the election of their representatives to draft the basic law of the land. We are firm in our conviction that the constitution-making body cannot be anything but sovereign in its status, democratic in its content and truly representative in its form.

Nearly 28 months ago when we met in Durban, we were striving to stave off all kinds of protestations among those who fear the people and therefore fear democracy. We were being warned that elections before a constitution is drafted would be to put the cart before the horse. Others doubted whether the demand for a constituent assembly was in fact achievable.

We said yes, because we knew then as we know now that South Africans have the capacity to bring about democracy.

Today, after a long and tortuous road, the National Party [NP] regime has been forced to accept this reality. The Record of Understanding between the ANC and the regime adopted last September does state in clear terms that the constitution will be drafted by an elected body and that this body will be sovereign - bound only by democratic constitutional principles.

The regime has also come to accept that decisions in the constituent assembly will be taken in a manner no different from other such assemblies in the world, that is, by a two-thirds majority. They agree too, that the issue of powers, functions and boundaries of regions will finally be settled by this assembly.

This is not because there has been a change of heart on the part of rulers of this country. It is the staying power of arguments for democracy, the strength of the mobilised and active masses and the unanimous voice of the international community which set the stage for the current round of negotiations.

Through the campaign for peace and democracy during the course of last year, we also managed to put in the spotlight the regime's two-track policy of negotiating on

the one hand, and destabilising opponents of apartheid on the other. Their efforts to weaken and destroy the democratic movement have not succeeded. Instead, it is becoming clearer by the day, that the fires of counter-revolutionary violence will in time consume those who set them.

The peace and democracy campaign put paid to the illusion that violence and racist arrogance could cow our people into submission. Attempts by the powers-that-be to lull the international community into accepting the skewed interpretation of the violence have failed.

That past 18 months have shown that we were correct in identifying negotiations as the most viable route through which minority rule would be broken. But this period also put in bolder relief the reality that what we aim to achieve in negotiations depends on the strength we command on the ground and our willingness to bring that strength to bear on the process.

When we parted in October 1991, we not only reaffirmed our commitment to the demand for a constituent assembly. We also agreed to strive for interim structures "...to ensure that the De Klerk regime does not preside over or manipulate the transition..." We correctly demanded the holding of a conference of all parties "...to set in motion the process leading to a democratically-elected constituent assembly..." We said that such a conference would underwrite general constitutional principles as well as agree on the time frame to bring about democratic transformation.

It is a matter of proud record, that the approach of the Patriotic Front became the basis of the scenario that emerged from Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] negotiations, thanks also to the unity and close co-ordination among members of the front in Codesa.

Firstly, the adoption of the Declaration of Intent by Codesa I was an important victory for the forces of democracy, who for decades had been persecuted for the very ideals contained in that declaration.

Secondly, Codesa agreed on structures with executive powers to ensure free and fair elections for a constituent assembly. These include the transitional executive council and its sub-structures and the independent electoral and media commissions.

Thirdly, mechanisms to clear the statute books of repressive legislation and strengthen provisions of the National Peace Accord were agreed upon.

Fourthly, it was agreed that after elections for a constituent assembly, all apartheid structures would go, to be replaced by interim democratic organs of government.

It is not surprising that Codesa deadlocked on the issue of who drafts the new constitution and how this was to be done. But, as we indicated earlier, the majority of South Africans and the international community

ensured that the regime comes round to appreciate, like everyone else, what democracy means.

We are now resuming multi-party negotiations. And it behoves all patriotic forces to jealously defend the achievements of earlier struggles.

This might be a logical and obvious approach to struggle. But it is made the more critical by the fact that enemies of democracy are bent on defending the old order based on racial and ethnic divisions.

What is it that these forces aim to achieve?

At best, they seek to delay the whole transition to democracy. At worst, they hope to derail negotiations. For some of them, destabilisation and civil war are preferable to loss of privilege.

Unity of purpose, commitment to principle and flexibility in tactics are attributes that the Patriotic Front needs in large doses for this phase of the negotiations process. On the one hand, we have to ensure that those who seek to cling to power are disabused of this dangerous illusion. On the other hand, we must challenge and defeat all efforts aimed at undermining the principle of a democratic and participatory transition.

Therefore, building on the achievements and setbacks of the previous phase, we should work for a speedy conclusion to multi-party negotiations so that the actual work of transition can start in earnest.

The violence gripping our country makes this task even more urgent. Day in day out, gruesome murders are committed against innocent people—men, women and children alike. Hired killers stalk our homes, places of entertainment, roads and even burial ceremonies. It is not material whether the victims are black or white. For in the final analysis, those who rely on shedding the blood of innocents can have no purpose in mind other than to undermine the peace process that all patriots seek to consolidate.

There can be no doubt about who the main culprits are. Those who instituted a policy that decreed others sub-humans in their land of birth could not but rely on violence to maintain their vile system. Those who gave orders for the "permanent removal" of opponents of apartheid showed their hand then and have been exposed to rely on this strategy now. Those who manufactured nuclear bombs to kill in defence of apartheid cannot be expected to act with compunction when their power is threatened.

South Africans—both black and white—are not safe in the midst of these forces. For they shall go to any length to subvert successful negotiations, the real challenge to their racial fiefdom. They will seek to use all kinds of forces, even from among the oppressed, to realise their shameful objectives.

In contrast to the confusion these forces seek to sow, the Patriotic Front is confident that there is a way forward.

Negotiations must be speedily concluded and transitional structures set up to ensure, among others, the joint control of all armed formations. Elections must be speedily held to bring about a democratic constitution and a representative government.

Beefing up the brute force of a discredited security apparatus is not the answer. Resorting to draconian security measures of an illegitimate regime only helps to conceal the hand of the main culprit and to foment the deep divisions within society.

Certainly, political and other organisations have a responsibility to promote peace and tolerance. They must ensure that their members do not act in a manner that undermines these principles. They must scrupulously avoid the danger of their structures and members being used by the angels of death. This conference should therefore emerge not only with a call, but also a clear programme to ensure that both immediate and long-term measures needed to achieve lasting peace are accomplished.

The most certain antidote to violence and other ills ravaging our country will be the election of representatives of the people to draft a new constitution and set up democratic government. Sooner rather than later this is what multi-party negotiations must emerge with.

It is time that we attend with all seriousness to the challenges that this achievement imposes on us. The correctness of our policies is not a guarantee to the decisive electoral victory that we hope to achieve, it depends mainly on our bond with the ordinary people to ensure that they do not only support us; but also that they know how to vote; that they do go out to vote; and that they vote for real change.

The forces of apartheid are the main adversary that we should address. This means, among other things, that we should jointly carry out a massive voter education campaign especially among those sections of our population who have all along been denied this right. It means that we should convince them of the legitimacy of this exercise and how it will impact on their wretched lives.

Further, this also means that we should reach out to them in a manner that does not confuse them about their main enemy: the apartheid system. We should therefore strive as much as possible to avoid a multiplicity of competing formations among patriots. The strategies that our individual executives finally work out, and the conclusions that further bilateral and multilateral consultations will reach, should be guided by these principles.

The input of the international community in this phase will stand the whole process in good stead. It is a tribute to their efforts too that South Africa is at the brink of this major breakthrough. Their increased involvement in the past few months had contributed critically in staying the hand of the forces of violence.

As we enter this new and more challenging period, we shall need their experience, their expertise and their moral authority to reinforce our efforts. This applies both to the delivery of democracy as well as the more daunting task of reconstruction.

More than anything else, socio-economic reconstruction and the dismantling of the apartheid state machinery are the most crucial tasks that the new government will face. After all, the struggle has been about achieving not only political rights; but also changing the conditions under which the majority of the people live. To deal with these critical issues, the ANC is convening a conference by June this year, and we invite all Patriotic Front forces to be part of this process. Then we shall be able to deal systematically with the twin tasks that a democratic government will have to tackle: that is, national reconstruction and reconciliation.

Almost a full year and a half after the adoption of that historic declaration of the Patriotic Front we can say with pride that we are set on the road to the creation of a South Africa based on a common and genuine patriotism—a nation which, as we said then, “will be at peace with itself”. We are confident that this conference will set the stage for rapid movement towards democracy; and we call on other anti-apartheid forces not represented here to join us in this patriotic endeavour. The time has come! Sekunjalo! Ke nako!

Mandela Closes Conference

*MB2803140993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1322
GMT 28 Mar 93*

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Johannesburg March 28 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela closed a two-day “patriotic conference” in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg, shortly after 1pm on Sunday [28 March], saying his organisation had taken into account all criticisms made against it by allied parties.

More than 50 political, religious, cultural and homeland organisations attended the conference, which was, however, boycotted by the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation.

“We have listened to your remarks, concerns, doubts, reservations and every sharp criticisms of our work since we last met in Durban in October 1991.

“Such free and frank criticism has been a source of great strength to us throughout our history. We assure you that your criticisms, which have been relevant, will be dealt with by us.”

Mr. Mandela added that the danger facing political movements was that the leadership given a mandate often lost touch with its constituency.

“That is a damage against which we must guard against in these negotiations with the government. We must not

lose touch with our constituency. We must take them along the entire process,” said Mr. Mandela.

The gathering then broke for lunch before delegates left for their respective destinations.

At a later press conference, Mr. Mandela laughed at a statement by State President F W de Klerk at the weekend that the National Party will cut the ANC down to size.

“We don’t take that statement seriously. Mr. de Klerk has a poignant sense of humour,” said the ANC president.

ANC Releases Statement

*MB2803204993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1941
GMT 28 Mar 93*

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the African National Congress on 28 March 1993]

[Text] Patriotic Front Conference

The second conference of the Patriotic Front, held on the 27 and 28 March 1993 at the Nur-ul Islam Centre in Lenasia, was attended by 56 organisations representing political, business, educational, worker, cultural, women, youth and religious interests. It was also attended by the observer missions of 27 foreign countries.

The participating organisations, bound a commitment to united, nonracial, non-sexist and democratic SA [South Africa], reaffirmed their commitment to achieving this in the shortest possible time. To this end, the speedy resumption and conclusion of multilateral negotiations, the holding of free and fair elections for a constituent assembly, and its adoption of a democratic constitution for SA, is crucial. This represents the surest possible way of addressing and overcoming the crisis in our country.

Conference discussed these steps to democracy and called for:

1. A date to be set for elections to a democratic constituent assembly as a matter of urgency
2. The establishment of a transitional executive council with powers to level the political playing field, including the establishment of an independent electoral commission and media commission.
3. The dissolution of apartheid governmental structures after elections for a constituent assembly
4. The drafting of a democratic constitution by a representative constituent assembly bound only by broad constitutional principles
5. The establishment of a government of national unity aimed at the reconciliation and reconstruction of our country. Conference expressed concern at the continuing violence afflicting our country. In this regard it called, inter alia:
 - a. For the strengthening of the National Peace Accord
 - b. On all Patriotic Front forces to vigorously observe principles of peace and tolerance by their members

c. For all armed formations to be placed under joint control and accountability

Conference emphasised the need for Patriotic Front forces to approach the coming elections conscious of the fact that the essence of the contest is between democracy and apartheid.

Conference endorsed the need for unity amongst Patriotic Front forces in order to win the forthcoming elections.

Buthelezi Addresses Rally on Reconciliation

MB2803123293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1106 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By Jonathon Rees]

[Text] Driefontein, south-eastern Transvaal, March 28 SAPA—About 30 beefy white farmers and excited new Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) MP Hennie Bekker were among a 5,000-strong crowd at an IFP rally addressed by party leader chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Driefontein on Saturday [27 March].

Driefontein is a peri-urban settlement of black farmers about 60km northwest of Piet Retief, near the Swaziland border.

Chief Buthelezi warmly welcomed the white support and hugged Mr Bekker, who said he was excited to be at his first Inkatha function since defecting to the IFP from the National Party last week.

After nervously raising his hands in an Inkatha salute, he addressed the cheering crowd in faltering Zulu and English, and in Afrikaans, saying he would get to work immediately to improve Inkatha's image on the Reef.

"We just want a fair deal," he said, adding that he firmly believed he retained majority support in his Jeppe constituency, particularly its Zulu hostels, since crossing the parliamentary floor.

His work on the Wits [Witwatersrand]-Vaal peace committee would continue and he would not be fighting a by-election.

Chief Buthelezi told the crowd gathered on the shore of the Heyshope Dam, under the kwaMandhlamphisi Mountain (Gathering Place of the Wolves) that it was time for reconciliation between black and white, and black and black.

"Without reconciliation, our country is doomed."

He appealed for an end to strife, fear and racist conflict, saying the fight for democratic representation was becoming harder since the government and the African National Congress (ANC) began "grabbing for each other to the exclusion of all other parties".

A handful of Inkatha supporters carried traditional weapons, others munched on sugarcane during the speeches.

It was a peaceful day with no reports of violence, although United Nations observer Andras Blaho said some intimidation had been reported by local ANC officials.

A spokesman for white farmers at the rally from Wakkerstroom, Piet Retief, Ermelo and Amersfoort, said they had no problem with Inkatha since it stood for Christian values and recognised the importance of job creation.

Most of the farmers had transported their workers to the rally and stayed on as observers.

Buthelezi Calls Holomisa 'Destructive Leader'

MB2503100493 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0800 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused Transkei military ruler Major General Bantu Holomisa of being a destructive leader. Buthelezi was reacting to a Goldstone Commission report that the High Command of the PAC's [Pan-Africanist Congress] armed wing, APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army], is based in Transkei; and that APLA is using the homeland as a springboard for attacks in South Africa. Buthelezi told the legislative assembly at Ulundi, weapons used to kill people in kwaZulu are being manufactured in Transkei. Buthelezi says he can't communicate with Holomisa, because to do so would cause violence to flare up.

The Goldstone report has been criticized because only the South African Army and police have given evidence on the issue of APLA.

30 Mar Review of Press Editorials, Commentaries

MB3003134093

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Criticism of Responses To De Klerk Initiatives—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 30 March in a page 14 editorial believes President de Klerk faces "constant criticism from the Left and the Right. Both accuse him of not doing enough to halt the bloodshed." "Yet when the State President takes overt action by mobilising police reservists and soldiers to raise the profile of the security forces in 'problem areas', he is accused of acting unilaterally. The ANC's [African National Congress] response to his latest initiative is twofold: to accuse him of seeking a military rather than a political solution and once again to blame his administration for the violence. Nelson Mandela seeks to turn against De Klerk his admission about his predecessor's secret decision to develop a nuclear capacity. 'Those who manufactured nuclear bombs to kill in defence of apartheid

cannot be expected to act with compunction when their power is threatened,' the ANC leader declaims. De Klerk must not allow jibes like that to paralyse him. As the constitutionally elected president, he cannot abandon his responsibility for upholding the law and maintaining order. In general he must act judiciously but decisively, wherever possible taking his negotiating partners with him. THE STAR advises "extra prudence" on two issues: "He should not unilaterally restore the death penalty or abrogate Transkei independence." A "speedy progress to a transitional executive council, and beyond that, a government of national unity" is required.

BUSINESS DAY

ANC Electoral Alliance 'Disturbing'—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 30 March in a page 10 editorial is "hardly" surprised by the decision of the weekend patriotic front conference to form an electoral alliance under the banner of the ANC. But, the electoral alliance was "nevertheless, disturbing in two respects. The first question relates to the role of the 10 or so political parties which have decided to attach themselves to this alliance. The bulk are minor homeland and tricameral parties which have displayed little evidence of public support, while many of them are responsible for the financial mismanagement that has become so prevalent in the homelands." "What kind of payoff are the bureaucrats of each of those parties expecting in return for their marginal contributions to an ANC election effort?" The second disturbing feature of the conference "was the range of non-party political groups—the organs of civil society, as the current jargon describes them—which were willing to align themselves with the ANC." "That the participants in the weekend conference, political parties and others, have become appendages of the

ANC is apparent from the composite resolution that emerged from the gathering. It simply parroted the familiar ANC line." "The ANC, for the expedient of short-term electoral gain, must bear responsibility for orchestrating this attack on the quest for a free, pluralist society."

SOWETAN

ANC's Patriotic Front 'Politically Astute'—The ANC's move to get 50 organizations into a Patriotic Front "is shrewd and politically astute," declares a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 30 March. But by not participating, the PAC and the Azanian People's Organization, AZAPO, "are painting themselves into a tight corner for, while it is right to look dubiously on such partners, history might force them to reconsider their dogmatism. It is common cause that even if the homelands are eventually dismantled they have become a geographic reality. They have also put into place certain structures, like armies and police, that cannot simply be wished away. It is much better to have them rehabilitated than ignored."

De Klerk Tries 'Ballot Box Lobotomy of Blacks'—On the same page, Ismail Lagardien writes in an article titled "Focus on NP [National Party]," that "Altogether De Klerk is trying to exercise a successful ballot box lobotomy of blacks by ignoring the past and concentrating on the future, while the past is very much still in the present and the future lies through the present...Because quite evidently, for the NP at least, especially for the 'new' NP, the misery and suffering does not exist, for apartheid was never wrong. In the end all that one can say is that if black people do vote for the National Party—then we deserve another 40 years of denial."

Angola

Valentim Confident Government To Return To Negotiations

*MB2903212193 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo
Negro in Portuguese 1900 GMT 29 Mar 93*

[Text] Although the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA] government has rejected the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola's [UNITA] peace proposals, it is believed that the Jose Eduardo dos Santos administration will soon return to the negotiating table in order to find an honorable outcome to the [words indistinct] crisis. Speaking to foreign newsmen this afternoon, UNITA Information Minister Dr. Jorge Alicerces Valentim said he favored peace, and dismissed rumors about clashes in Huambo which were hindering the distribution of humanitarian aid to the residents.

[Begin recording] [Valentim] We have reached practical and valid conclusions. While we negotiated with the U.S. delegation, there were informal consultations with the government delegation. The government delegation was headed by Generals Higinio Carneiro and Pedro Gato. So far, the MPLA government has not issued any official declaration regarding the outcome of the Abidjan meeting.

We would like to stress that peace for Angola is a fundamental issue and cannot be taken lightly. We believe that the MPLA government will join the talks. It will be possible for the MPLA to hold concrete and sound talks with UNITA as of 12 April, like Ambassador Davidow said.

[Reporter] By proposing (?changes) to Angola's administration, is UNITA not questioning the results of the September elections [words indistinct]?

[Valentim] There was no referendum about Angola's administration. There were elections [words indistinct] and our position is known. What we want now is a practical solution to the problems we have at home. So, the question of a more balanced administration for Angola does not put the Bicesse Accords at stake [words indistinct] of Angolan leaders and political parties.

[Reporter] In any event, the reform of the country's administration would be the responsibility of the government that came out of the September elections?

[Valentim] We are not questioning whether the government was democratically elected or not. What matters now is to find a solution to the war.

[Reporter] Regarding humanitarian assistance for Huambo [words indistinct] it seems that UNITA commanders in the region say that they cannot guarantee the security of an airlift operation?

[Valentim] That is false. I have all the documentation on me and I am in touch with Ms. Anstee. It is the

government that has raised obstacles. We are ready, and it is not a secret that the United Nations wants the airlift operations to begin on 31 March. We expect aircraft to fly to Huambo at once so that Western democracies may fulfill their traditional humanitarian obligations. [end recording]

UNITA Reiterates Readiness for Talks on 12 Apr

*AB3003092193 Paris AFP in English 0333 GMT
30 Mar 93*

[Text] Abidjan, March 30 (AFP)—The armed Angolan opposition movement UNITA said late Monday [29 March] that it was ready for a meeting April 12 with the government in Luanda.

In a statement to AFP, the West Africa representative of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], John Marques Kakumba, said that the venue for the meeting was up to United Nations secretary-general Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

He said UNITA was ready to accept any meeting place in Africa, save Angolan territory "where there is security only for the government."

Marques Kakumba said UNITA was still in favour of "widening" the Bicesse peace accords signed in Portugal in 1991 "by dialogue in the African way."

He reproached the Portuguese foreign minister, Duran Barroso, for having "condemned" UNITA.

That does not help matters, it makes them worse," he said, adding: "UNITA is always ready for dialogue."

Emergency Force Now Called 'Rapid Intervention Police'

*MB2703204293 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in
Portuguese 1900 GMT 27 Mar 93*

[Text] A group of volunteers concluded the eighth Emergency Police course today. The Emergency Police will henceforth be called Rapid Intervention Police. Speaking at the closing ceremony of the 45-day course, Interior Minister Santana Andre Pitra Petroff spoke of the characteristics of this branch of the police force.

[Begin Petroff recording] The Rapid Intervention Police has a characteristic which distinguishes it from the rest of the police force. In other words, a minimum sign of indiscipline by an element of the Rapid Intervention Police is more visible than if it is carried out by another element of the national police. As the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] free certain areas, this unit has the responsibility of placing its personnel in areas freed by the FAA forces so that we can reimpose authority and protect the people.

We would also like to take this opportunity to announce that, within the framework of the restructuring of the Interior Ministry, the general command will also modify its structures beginning next month. We shall have

[words indistinct] of the general command, the division of responsibilities among different officials—that is between the general commander and the second general commander. All this will be within the framework of the responsibilities of the national police in particular so that it can truly play its role of maintaining the necessary authority so that there is public order and tranquility. [end recording]

The interior minister once again condemned some elements who, because of their undignified behavior, tarnish the name of the force instead of maintaining the necessary authority so that we can have tranquility.

S. Africa's Botha Reportedly Blames UNITA for War

MB2903204793 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Roelof Pik Botha says he is upset with Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. Our Johannesburg correspondent Ernesto Bartolomeu reports:

[Bartolomeu] In a communique issued in Johannesburg, the South African foreign minister says that UNITA is mainly to blame for what is happening in Angola. Pik Botha said although he had advised the UNITA leader not to resume the war, Jonas Savimbi ignored him and took up arms.

Pik Botha's attitude is being regarded with a great deal of skepticism in a number of South African political circles because he is regarded in this country as UNITA's main supporter. For Manuel Augusto, Angola's representative in South Africa, South Africa's attitude has come too late, because more than 15,000 people have already died and Minister Botha could have done a great deal to help them.

South African political circles say that Pik Botha changed his mind after he was accused in the United States of being mainly to blame for the Angolan war and that he was directly supporting UNITA. A number of South African political parties believe that Botha has been instructed to change his stand on UNITA.

South African sources, who asked not to be identified, say that the U.S. Government will recognize the legitimate Angolan Government within the next 22 days and that the South African minister will resign over the next few months.

Meanwhile, it has been learned that UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi is no longer in South Africa, but in Abidjan and that very recently he applied for an entry visa from the Foreign Affairs Ministry, but the application was flatly turned down.

Government-UNITA Clashes Continue

FAA Spokesman Reports on Military Operations

MB2903202093 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Angolan airspace continues to be systematically violated by South African and Zairian airplanes which disembark men and war materiel for National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] forces in the Malanje, Uige, Bie, and Cuando Cubango regions. That is according to Brigadier Jota, spokesman for the General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA], who was speaking at a briefing [preceding word in English] with newsmen in Luanda today. Brig. Jota said that over the past few days there has been renewed military activity in almost every part of the country, namely in northern, central, and southeastern Angola. He gave an account of the situation in various parts of the country:

[Begin Jota recording] In northern Angola, there is a strong movement of UNITA personnel and equipment to prevent the advance of our forces in the operational area where the FAA has been carrying out a number of actions. We would like to refer in particular to the situation in Malanje where UNITA forces have been pressuring the city's outlying wards. UNITA forces have been carrying out ambushes and shelling the region in order to keep the city of Malanje under pressure and obviously to create conditions for a possible attack. The situation, however, is completely under our control and measures have been taken with a view to reversing the situation.

In central Angola, the situation is critical. Like I said, there is a strong movement and concentration of UNITA forces to strengthen the positions they have conquered in that region and to launch new offensives against government-held positions. I would like to speak in particular about the situation in the city of Cuito where over the past few days UNITA forces have mounted an offensive in order to take the city. It should be pointed out that government forces have succeeded in repelling enemy attacks and so far the city is under their control.

In the southern region, the worst situation has been reported in the city of Menongue, which is under siege. UNITA forces have been using their long-range artillery to sporadically shell the airport and nearby wards. Right now, the situation in Menongue is also worrisome because it has not been possible for the government authorities to assist the residents with basic commodities they require for their survival. There have been clashes around the city of Menongue, notably in the outlying areas held by government troops, some 15 to 20 km from the city of Menongue.

In eastern Angola, the situation is much calmer. We could, however, experience renewed activity in the region in the near future because, as part of its plan to divide the country, UNITA intends to occupy eastern Angolan provinces.

In Cabinda Province, we could say that the situation is stable, although there have been a number of operations carried out mainly by the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave against civilian and military vehicles which circulate in isolated regions of the province, namely on the border with the Republic of Zaire. [end recording]

Regarding the situation in Soyo, Brig. Jota said that in the past few days there have been clashes in regions where government forces are trying to expand their area of influence.

[Begin Jota recording] On 27 or 28 March, there were a number of clashes some 40 km from Soyo, where government forces inflicted heavy casualties on UNITA forces, namely 15 killed and large quantities of ammunition and equipment captured.

One should point out that in the region where the (Quingila) oil well is situated, UNITA forces ambushed a group of workers employed by Soyo oil companies. Two foreigners working for Soyo oil companies are missing. [end recording]

UNITA Reportedly Captures Cuito

MB3003085593 *Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo*
Negro in Portuguese 0800 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels have claimed a major victory in Angola. They say they have captured Cuito, the provincial capital of Bie Province.

The Portuguese News Agency Lusa quotes UNITA rebel radio as saying the movement has taken the city which has seen intense fighting between rebels and Government troops in recent weeks. Unofficial sources have also confirmed the fall of Cuito, but there has been no word yet from the Angolan Government.

Government Soldiers Killed in Menongue

MB3003084093 *Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo*
Negro in Portuguese 1900 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Intense clashes continue in the city of Menongue. The People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, the Riot Police and mercenaries have suffered a major setback.

At dawn on 28 March, 13 of Jose Eduardo dos Santos' soldiers were killed when the infamous 4th Battalion intended to attack Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola's [FALA] defensive positions, 2.5 km northeast of the city of Menongue. The glorious FALA forces captured assorted war materiel, including one B-10 recoilless gun, one 82-mm mortar, one 60-mm, one RPG-7, one PKM, five AK-47's and large quantities of rounds of ammunition, grenades and rockets of various calibers.

Clash Kills 55 Soldiers 28 Mar

MB2903085893 *Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo*
Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] No multinational will be able to extract oil from Soyo if a fair solution to Angola's problem is not found. Yesterday morning, an enemy group, including mercenaries in the service of the National Angolan Fuel Company, tried to reconnoiter an Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] forward position, but met with swift response. Our correspondent Felix Miranda reports that the clashes lasted for five hours. The People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] could not match FALA's response, abandoning 55 dead on the ground. Our forces destroyed two BMP-1 vehicles, one T-54 tank and a troop carrier. This brings to four the number of BMP-1's that have been destroyed in the past three days.

UNITA Commentary Views U.S. Draft Resolution

MB2903150493 *Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo*
Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Station commentary: "When it Comes to Angola's Democracy There Can Be No Double Standards"]

[Text] The United States, the oldest champion of democracy, today plays a leading role in the search for viable solutions aimed at defusing conflicts that afflict every continent. The fulfillment of that noble, but thorny mission, which, to a large extent, is designed to save millions of human beings from hegemony, totalitarianism, repression and genocide among peoples, of necessity implies that U.S. administrations, whether Democratic or Republican, should act accordingly and be particularly strong at all times in order not to falter. That could be unfair to the weak who suffer and are oppressed, while benefiting the oppressors.

The involvement of the United States, as the main technological, economic, and military power, could go even further, particularly to accommodate traditional, socioeconomic, and cultural aspirations while adopting a specific system of constructive and suitable relations with a given people, on the basis of respect for freedom of conscience.

In the specific case of Angola, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has time and again alerted the West, particularly the United States that the Angolan conflict calls for an in-depth, sincere, far-reaching, consistent, and impartial analysis so that the necessary conclusions may be drawn and measures be adopted accordingly. Should that not be done, the conflict, instead of being resolved, will be further radicalized with unforeseen consequences. It would be sad for the United States, particularly at a time when the Democrats are in office, if it is regarded by oppressed Angolans as being responsible for their continued suffering.

The joint draft resolution placed before the U.S. House of Representatives by Democratic Congressman Harry Johnston, backed by a group of senators headed by Mr. Dennis DeConcini, urging President Bill Clinton to diplomatically and unconditionally recognize the Angolan Government will in no way help resolve the Angolan conflict. The draft resolution is out of context. It is biased and sympathetic toward the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT]. In fact, the draft resolution is like a shield for the excessive atrocities that the MPLA-PT has committed for every Angolan to see, while the international community remained silent in a clear and systematic violation of universal democratic ideals.

The Honorable Harry Johnston and Dennis DeConcini: What is taking place in Angola right now is a struggle for survival. The MPLA-PT is acting in bad faith against UNITA and its main goal is to decapitate Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, its leader. As an example, you should recall the murders of UNITA Vice President Engineer Jeremias Kalandula Chitunda and Engineer Elias Salupeto Pena, UNITA's No. 1 at the Joint Political and Military Commission, and whose corpses are still being held by the MPLA-PT. The MPLA-PT is still holding in detention some 2,000 UNITA militants, including generals and deputies who were on a peace mission to Luanda and other cities in terms of the Bicesse Accords. UNITA, which is backed by millions of Angolans, has resumed the war against its will. UNITA is fighting in order to defend itself from military attacks by the Riot Police and the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA]-Angolan Armed Forces alliance which has decided to treacherously attack UNITA since October in a purely genocidal campaign of a political and tribal nature in which tens of thousands of militants and sympathizers of UNITA and other parties, as well as people from northern, central, and southern Angola and even Zairians have been killed. That campaign was also aimed at expelling UNITA from the main cities and sending it to the rural areas. UNITA had gone to the cities under the terms of the Bicesse Accords. It went there in order to stay and to coexist with all Angolan political parties, but not to flee back into the bush.

UNITA consists of Angolans of various tribes from different parts of the country, from Cabinda to Cunene and from Lobito to Moxico. They are the same Angolans who need a place in the sun within their own country, in their provinces, districts or villages so that together with their families they may live in peace. The MPLA-PT has no right to expel other Angolans from the country, hence the need for Angolans to defend themselves with all means at their disposal.

We would like to ask: How can one negotiate with a treacherous partner like the MPLA-PT? That is the crux of the matter. You should deal with the Angolan situation in view of the MPLA-PT's bad faith, by making an in-depth analysis of the situation and then drawing the necessary conclusions in order to help Angolans find peace.

Honorable Democrats: You ought to force the MPLA-PT to acknowledge and recognize universal democratic ideals, notably individual rights. The MPLA-PT intends to use force in order to impose those ideals on Angolans. [sentence as heard]

As Angolans, who have firsthand experience of our country's problems, we believe that the draft resolution is excessively biased and sympathetic toward the MPLA-PT, particularly because Mr. Harry Johnston, chairman of the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Africa, has spoken in favor of the MPLA-PT and its government as if the latter had already met all the requirements before it could be recognized by the U.S. Government. That is not the case. Perhaps Mr. Johnston has followed the Angolan situation from afar.

The MPLA-PT's attitude toward all opposition parties shows that it is still a repressive, totalitarian, hegemonic, communist, and warmongering organization because it harasses, kills, and arrests opposition militants. The aim is to continue with a one-party regime under the cloak of democracy. This is illustrated by the type of parliament that has been established in Luanda in which MPLA-PT officials impose their will on the leaders of other parties. It is a parliament where UNITA prisoners closely watched by the Ministry of State Security have been forced to take their seats without the approval of their party and in exchange for their release. That is the same communist MPLA-PT that in November indiscriminately arrested and killed tens of thousands of militants and sympathizers of other political parties. After all, the Angolan parliament is a carbon copy of the communist People's Assembly which prevailed during the 16 years of totalitarian rule. So, we do not agree with you when you say that the MPLA-PT is no longer Marxist-Leninist.

As for the withdrawal of the expeditionary Cuban troops, it has not been effectively and completely carried out. The lack of an efficient agency to monitor the withdrawal enabled the MPLA-PT to deceive the international community by concealing in Angola a contingent of black Cubans under the guise of being (Uneca) experts, while another contingent has been secretly transferred to the Republic of Congo. That personnel is involved in clashes in Dondo, Malanje, and Soyo, and over the past few days other troops have been airlifted to Moxico in Antonov's. We also disagree with the draft resolution, regarding the total withdrawal of Cubans from Angola.

The elections were scheduled to take place in terms of the Bicesse Accords. UNITA did its best so that elections could be held and both sides could contest them seriously and honestly so that the polls were not rigged. The elections were fraudulent because of the MPLA. Even now, ballot boxes with votes for UNITA and Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi are being found in provincial governors' palaces. That is why UNITA has regarded the elections as unfair and fraudulent. Had that taken place in the United States or in Europe, the elections would have either been postponed or simply annulled.

Finally, ever since the MPLA-PT treacherously resumed war against UNITA in October 1993 in Luanda, Sumbe, Dondo, Benguela, and Lubango, UNITA and President Dr. Savimbi have appealed for an immediate cease-fire. At the time, Dr. Savimbi instructed General Demostenes Amos Chilinguita to contact FAPLA Generals Joao de Matos and Higino Carneiro. The MPLA-PT and the international community rejected it then because the MPLA-PT was scoring a number of victories. When it felt threatened at its Huambo headquarters, UNITA paid back in kind, hitting where it hurt most. There was total despair and everybody ran to Addis Ababa. In a show of hypocrisy, they wanted to impose a premature cease-fire without an in-depth discussion of the causes that led to the conflict and how heart-broken Angolans should live in the future.

Once again, we disagree with you when you say that UNITA is responsible for the resumption of the war and that it does not want to negotiate.

Under the prevailing political, military and social conditions in Angola, you could effectively assist in the search for genuine political solutions in which every Angolan could be accommodated on the basis of a healthy a harmonious coexistence, and political tolerance, respect for individual rights, tribes, and their traditions and culture, as well as the creation of a genuine government of national unity capable of healing the wounds sustained by Angolans during the brutal political and tribal genocide that has been carried since October 1992 by the MPLA-PT's allied troops.

President Bill Clinton: To recognize the Angolan Government at this stage would be premature and unjustified. It is essential that your administration untiringly work by means of constructive engagement with Angolans so that the latter may overcome the ideological obstacles which divide them.

Long live UNITA! Long live FALA! Long live Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi!

Portugal's Barroso Urges U.S. Pressure on UNITA

MB2903104793 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Text] In an exclusive interview with TPA's Lisbon correspondent, the Portuguese foreign minister stressed the role played by the United States in the Angolan peace process. He says that the United States should pressurize the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] to abide by the accords that it has signed.

[Begin recording] [Barroso] What we see is that the United States has not yet been able to impress on its former ally the need to fulfill the accords that it subscribed to by its own volition. So, right now we think that it is very important that the United States clearly impresses on UNITA the need to abide by the peace

accords that it has signed and the UN resolutions, and to accept the election results which the United Nations regard as free and fair. [end recording]

Durao Barroso said that should a UNITA delegation visit Portugal shortly, his government will put the following views to Jonas Savimbi's envoys:

[Begin recording] [Barroso] Whatever the level of the delegation, Portugal will ask for the fulfillment of the peace accords, adherence to the election results and UN resolutions. Moreover, we will tell them if UNITA complies with that, we will encourage any form of dialogue in Angola, based on flexibility. We believe that within the framework of principles that ought to be adhered to, namely the peace accords, democracy and international law, it would be useful to [words indistinct] because what is at stake is very important. One cannot be stubborn and overlook this possibility of peace for Angola. I feel that from my contacts with the Angolan Government, it would be willing to show some flexibility and find ways of negotiating in line with the real situation, provided that UNITA accepts those points.

[Reporter] Without reneging on the Bicesse Accords?

[Barroso] Without reneging on those principles that the Angolan Government and the international community regard as essential. That is, respect for democratic legitimacy and adherence to specific international legal matters.

[Reporter] So, for Portugal the Bicesse Accords still stand and there is no alternative.

[Barroso] We do not see any alternative right now. Like I said, we do not endorse the Bicesse Accords merely because they were signed in Portugal. That is not the case. If people tell me that there is a better alternative... [pause] After all, what do the Bicesse Accords say? The accords say three fundamental things in order to bring about peace in Angola: Democracy, cease-fire and demilitarization or a single army. That is obvious to me because there can be no peace without a cease-fire and while there are two armed political parties. There should be a unified state army. Moreover, there cannot be a solution to the political problem if there is no legitimacy conferred by the democratic election results. It is possible to have different alternatives within the framework of a democratic solution. Obviously, we must hope that afterward, Angolans will be flexible enough to find a formula suitable to the Angolan reality, though it cannot be a formula that puts democracy at stake. One cannot say: We have held elections, but they are worthless and so let us find any negotiated solution. That cannot be done.

Based on the legitimacy of the democratic election results, then, if you allow me, I would suggest that one should seek to negotiate in good faith in order to reach a compromise within that basis of legitimacy. I think that I can take such a stand because I personally feel that I

have given proof over the past few years of my commitment to peace in Angola. I have invested a great deal for the sake of peace in Angola. In order to do that, however, it is important that the first steps to be taken should adhere to the peace accords and the election results. [end recording]

Lesotho

BCP Wins 51 of 65 Seats; BNP 'Does Not Accept' Results

MB3003105693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1029 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Maseru March 30 SAPA—The Basotholand Congress Party has won 51 of the 65 seats in Lesotho's general election, according to figures released on Tuesday [30 March], SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported.

The Basotho National Party [BNP] suffered especially harsh defeats when the party leader and the deputy leader lost in their constituencies.

Soldiers deployed in the capital Maseru on Monday [29 March] were withdrawn after no violence occurred overnight, and the roadblock on the South African side of the border has been removed.

The BNP has said it does not accept the election result.

BNP Leader Cites Election 'Problems'

MB2903200993 Maseru Radio Lesotho in English 1600 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] The leader of Basotho National Party [BNP], Morena [Chief] Retselisitsoe Sekhonyana says it is difficult for Basotho National Party to yet see its way clear to accepting the outcome of 1993 elections. Morena Sekhonyana said this at a press conference held at his house in Maseru today.

He said the BNP and BCP [Basotholand Congress Party] are two strong parties competing, and one could not tell which one was going to win. He said what does not make sense is the swing of voting from one constituency to another. He said human behavior in voting is not constant.

Morena Sekhonyana also said his party has found that a consignment for elections was tampered with between Denmark and Lesotho, and political parties were not informed. He said secret marks disappeared. They were not (?convinced) they were replaced. He said ballot papers from certain polling stations were missing. Morena Sekhonyana said he is not against BCP winning elections, but would be happy if the above problems are addressed.

Losers Urged To 'Acknowledge Defeat'

MB2903195693 Maseru Radio Lesotho in English 1600 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] The Basotholand Congress Party, BCP, secretary general, Mr. Ntsukunyane Mphanya, has appealed to political parties which have lost the elections to acknowledge defeat peacefully. In an interview with LENA, Mr. Mphanya invited all political parties to come forward and support the government which will hasten the development of the country. He said BCP viewed the opposition as necessary in a multiparty democracy.

BCP Leader on Military Cooperation

MB3003072593 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] The victory of the Basotholand Congress Party [BCP] in last Saturday's [27 March] elections in Lesotho marks the end of more than two decades of struggle by Ntsu Mokhehle, the BCP leader who went into exile after his party was deprived of victory in 1970. With results still to come the BCP already has an absolute majority in Lesotho's 65 seat parliament. But their main rivals, the BNP [Basotho National Party] are crying foul, and even threatening to take their complaints to court. On the line to Maseru, Robin White asked Mr. Mokhehle how he felt having won a second time.

[Mokhehle] Yes, I am very happy, and hopeful really, and by the memories of 20 years ago, I would like to forget.

[White] Do you think that this time the military will go, that you will be allowed to take over?

[Mokhehle] All evidence is that they will go. They seem to be quite honest about it.

[White] Have you already had talks with them?

[Mokhehle] Since the elections started I have not.

[White] So you haven't spoken to them since you won?

[Mokhehle] No I haven't spoken to them at all.

[White] When will you start talking to them?

[Mokhehle] I will start talking to them...[pauses]...I am expecting them to start the ball rolling really in this matter, because they are the people now who have got to initiate the transfer. So they should be the first to call upon me.

[White] And how long do you think it will be before you take office?

[Mokhehle] I think within 14 days, it was said.

[White] And you are certain that it will happen, that it won't be snatched from you yet again?

[Mokhehle] I do not expect that at all really.

[White] What do you think of the BNP's complaints?

[Mokhehle] The BNP, I think strictly speaking they are being frivolous. I think they are frivolous.

[White] How do you mean?

[Mokhehle] I mean that they are groundless really. The elections went on very smoothly, fair and free in the sense that people left their homes to the polling stations, and they were not intimidated, they were not interfered with. At the polling stations also they were not interfered with, they were not intimidated so, they were quite free and fair and everybody was [word indistinct]. It is the administration which interfered with the [word indistinct] patients in the morning, but that cleared over as time went on. So I don't think that there have been any grounds for complaining.

[White] Now you have scored an overwhelming victory. Why do you think that is?

[Mokhehle] I think it's a reaction of the people to many [word indistinct] which didn't satisfy them. I think they wanted a change about the military rule. I think they wanted a change.

[White] But why did they vote for you rather than the BNP?

[Mokhehle] The BNP had already had a shot at running the country, and they proved to be a failure.

[White] Now what do you think your relationships is going to be like with the monarchy?

[Mokhehle] Well we shall be connected by having to work together under the constitution and the laws of the country that will be made from time to time. We'll have to be connected by that, each of us will have to admit [words indistinct] throne.

[White] But I mean do you basically get on with the monarchy or not?

[Mokhehle] We hope to get on very well. We have to get on well because we'll be bound by our having to work together.

[White] You say you have to get on well. It sounds as if you don't get on too well?

[Mokhehle] Well we don't have much in common at the present moment.

[White] Would you like to see the abolition of the monarchy?

[Mokhehle] No, I don't. I think we must learn to work according to the laws of the country. They must accept a constitutional monarchy.

[White] Could I ask about your age, and are you well enough and young enough to be a leader of Lesotho?

[Mokhehle] Well I'm now on the 75th year, and quite a number of people conducted the affairs of their countries at this age. So I don't think that that's a worry to me. Health, well, I'm healthy now I think to carry on.

Mozambique

Zimbabwean Troops To Withdraw From Corridors by 9 Apr

MB2903173393 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0400 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] The Portuguese News Agency, LUSA, citing the Zimbabwean press, has reported that the Zimbabwean Army will within the next few days begin withdrawing about 7,000 men stationed along the Beira and Limpopo Corridors. The source has reported that preparations for withdrawing the soldiers are in an advanced stage, and the process will be concluded by 9 April. The Zimbabwean soldiers will be replaced by the blue helmets.

Italian Air Force Personnel in Chimoio City

MB2903165093 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1400 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Italian troops to replace Zimbabwean soldiers in the protecting the Beira Corridor already number 857, and it is expected that 143 more are to arrive on 31 March. A source from the UN Operations in Mozambique [Unomoz] has said the Air Force personnel sent to Mozambique by the Italian Government have already arrived in Manica Province's Chimoio city. Aldo Ajello, UN special representative in Mozambique, and General Lelio Goncalves da Silva, Unomoz force commander, intend to visit Italian military installations near the Beira Corridor.

Dhlakama Receives EEC Delegation in Maringue

MB3003084993 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0400 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama, president of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], has reiterated that despite the alleged continued provocations by the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo], his movement will never take up arms to resume the war. Dhlakama was speaking at Renamo's headquarters in Maringue when he received an EEC delegation.

Elaborating on his allegations, Dhlakama said that Frelimo is refusing to provide logistical assistance to Renamo members who want to move to various Mozambican cities. Dhlakama described Frelimo's control of the news media, the misuse of donations from the international community as a means of recruiting new Frelimo members and the imbalance in the distribution of humanitarian aid as other examples of provocation.

The EEC delegation that visited Maringue was headed by (Stig Berling), charge d'affaires at the Danish

Embassy in Maputo. Denmark is currently chairing the European Commission. The delegation's visit to Maringue was designed to persuade Afonso Dhlakama to send to Maputo the Renamo representatives to the various commissions created in terms of the General Peace Accord.

Renamo Official Says Frelimo Violating Peace Accords

MB2703135993 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Report by Radio Mozambique correspondent Jose Manuel Pio in Chimoio]

[Text] (Jose dos Santos Macarucha), Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] delegate for the city of Manica, has accused the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] government of violating General Peace Accord principles by making threats against and detaining Renamo members.

Addressing a meeting to establish a Renamo office in the Messina administrative area of Manica District, (Jose dos Santos Macarucha) further blamed the government for hindering the food distribution process in Renamo-controlled areas. He noted that the democratic process has not developed roots in the country yet because Frelimo has not created the necessary conditions.

(Macarucha) was a Frelimo government administrator for Mussorize and Gondola Districts in the 1980's and early 1990's. Then, he was suspended from his duties and detained by police in Gondola, allegedly because he was diverting money.

Namibia

Central Bank Reports on Foreign Aid Receipts in 1992

MB2903172693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1639 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Windhoek March 29 SAPA—Namibia received R[and]421 million in foreign aid in 1992, an increase of 16 per cent or R57 million on the 1991 total, according to provisional statistics released in Windhoek. The 1991 total was an increase of R82 million, or 29 per cent, on assistance given in 1990, the Central Bank's Balance of Payment's Division said on Monday [29 March].

"The increase in foreign development assistance since 1990 has been channelled to the Namibian Government, with a total of R348 million in 1992, increasing from R282 million in 1991 and R202 million in 1990," the Central Bank said.

Assistance to non-governmental organisations, mainly from NGOs [non-governmental organizations] abroad, was relatively stable in 1990 (R81 million) and 1991 (R82 million), falling to R73 million in 1992.

Official development assistance, from governments and international and multi-national organisations, increased from R208 million in 1990, to R302 million in 1991 and R373 million in 1992. "This represents an increase from 74 per cent of total assistance in 1990 to 89 per cent in 1992."

According to the statistics, assistance from NGOs fell from R74 million (26 per cent) in 1990 to R48 million (11 per cent) in 1992.

Swaziland

Matse Heads New Swaziland Federation of Labor

MB2903093593 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 29 Mar 93 p 32

[Report by Gordon Mbuli: "SFTU Rival Now a Reality"]

[Text] The trade union federation to rival the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions (SFTU) was formally launched last week.

It is to be known as the Swaziland Federation of Labour (SFL).

The breakaway federation, which is a brain-child of the Swaziland Union of Financial Institutions and Allied Workers (SUFIAW), is headed by Mr Albert Matse, who is also president of the Swaziland Postal Telecommunications Workers Union (SPTWU).

The SFL secretary general is Mr David Mncina, who is SUFIAW's president.

It could not be established how many unions have already joined the SFL from the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions (SFTU), headed by Mr Richard Nxumalo and Mr Jan Sithole.

Two weeks ago, SUFIAW called leaders of the breakaway unions to a secret meeting to discuss the constitution of the new federation.

Mr Sithole and other members of the SFTU who came to attend the meeting were kicked out.

SUFIAW said they decided to form the breakaway federation because SFTU was no longer functioning, as far as they are concerned.

The organisation, which has already resigned from SFTU first expressed their concern on SFTU during a national banks' strike last year.

The secretary general, Mrs Winnie Magagula said SFTU failed to assist them in their negotiations with government and the employer while the strike was still going on.

However, Mr Sithole blamed the whole thing on the American government.

The Department of Labour said there was nothing wrong with the formation of a new federation of trade unions.

The deputy Labour Commissioner, Mr Joshua Mndzebele said the law only prohibits the formation of a breakway union when there is an existing one that caters for the welfare of the workers.

Shiselweni Communities Claim 'Harassed' by Inkatha

MB2903103693 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 29 Mar 93 p 1

[Report by Kosygin Shabangu: "Inkatha 'Invades' the South"]

[Text] The communities of Kontshingila and Zombodze South in Shiselweni have claimed to be harassed by members of South African political organisation, Inkatha Freedom Party.

The members are reported to be going around these two communities, accusing the people of sitting back and watching them die in South Africa.

Indvuna [chief] Majaha Simelane of Kontshingila told the Times yesterday that in December last year, seven men came to ask for temporary residence in the area.

He said they claimed to be from South Africa and had come to the country for a holiday.

Mr Simelane said he refused them permission to pitch a tent and ordered them to go to a hotel.

He said he was later told that the seven were staying at a home around his area.

Mr Simelane said when he asked the owner of the home, Mr Mbuso Simelane why he was keeping the seven, he said they were his relatives.

"He also told me I had no right to question him about his relatives," said the Indvuna.

"Another thing Mbuso told me was that they are members of Inkatha Freedom Party, but said I should not be worried because they were fighting a spiritual war.

He said two weeks after the arrival of the seven, Mr Mbuso Simelane started building a new house and when

it was finished, four of the South Africans occupied it and the three disappeared. He said when they got used to the people, they started telling them about the political situation in South Africa.

"They went around appealing for spiritual support, and I can safely say they got a good following. They planted the spirit of a revolution among my people," said Mr Simelane.

He said they are usually visited by other men, suspectedly from South Africa. He also said they sometimes go to Zombodze South and appeal to residents for "spiritual support" in their continuous struggle in South Africa.

Zimbabwe

Opposition Groups Form Party To Challenge Mugabe

MB2903075093 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Zimbabwe's two main opposition groups have merged into a single political party, posing what could be the most serious threat in a decade to President Robert Mugabe's ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union]-PF [Patriotic Front] Party.

The Forum Party of Zimbabwe, comprising the Forum for Democratic Reform and the Open Forum, was launched at Bulawayo at the weekend. Both pressure groups are made up of prominent Zimbabwean intellectuals, church leaders, businessmen, and white liberal politicians.

[Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1600 GMT 28 Mar 93 in a similar report adds: "The leader of the newly formed Forum Party of Zimbabwe, Mr. Enoch Dumbutshena, says the party will be endeavouring to replace the present government, which condones violence and intimidation. Speaking in the city of Bulawayo, Mr. Dumbutshena said the Forum Party of Zimbabwe was determined to replace dictatorial tendencies with democracy. Mr. Dumbutshena said after his election that there was chaos in the Zimbabwean economy, and the government was unable to control its expenditure. He said the Forum Party of Zimbabwe would be encouraging unfettered market economics to increase investment and jobs."]

Cote d'Ivoire

Republican Guards Mutiny at Presidential Palace

AB2903131893 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 1245 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] At the Presidential Palace, 45 soldiers of the Republican Guard mutinied in the early hours of the morning today and took the commander of the motor pool at the Presidential Palace and two noncommissioned officers hostage within the offices of the Presidency. The elements are demanding a pay increase.

[Paris AFP in French at 1251 GMT on 29 March carries the following Abidjan-dated item: "Some 45 soldiers from the Ivorian Republican Guard 'mutinied' here last night and were still holding hostage three soldiers—a major and two noncommissioned officers—inside the Presidential Palace late this morning, according to an official source. The action was launched to press for 'material' benefits, the same source added. Early reports from informed sources had attributed the protest action to the Presidential Guard."]

Soldiers Demand Pay

AB2903215493 Abidjan La Chaine Une Television Network in French 2000 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] The 45 soldiers of the Republican Guard in mutiny released their hostages around 1200. The head of the motorpool and two non-commissioned officers were taken hostage early this morning inside the office the presidency.

Among the demands of the mutineers are the improvement of their salary, a comprehensive insurance policy that covers every risk, and a special assistance in case of the death of a relative.

Guards Hold Hostages

AB3003114293 Paris AFP in French 1020 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Abidjan, 30 Mar (AFP)—The 45 Ivorian Republican Guards who embarked upon a mutiny in the early hours of 29 March to press for pay increases were still holed up inside the Presidential Palace in Abidjan this morning and are still holding two of their sergeants hostage.

Soon after 0830 (local and GMT), more than 10 Guards in grey uniforms wearing red berets came out into the yard separating the main building from the fences and started shooting in the air with assault rifles and machine guns. The sporadic gunshots and rifle bursts lasted 45 minutes. After a lull, shooting resumed just before 1000.

Gunshots were heard in the night around 0400 coming from the Presidency. Commandos from the Gendarmerie—about 200 men according to estimates—continue to surround the Presidential Palace located in the center of

the city. The entire area remains isolated. Five armored cars stationed in front of the building on 29 March were redeployed this morning about a hundred meters further back. [passage omitted]

Up to now, no particular sign of agitation has been noted in the two garrisons of the Republican Guards in Treichville, an Abidjan suburb, and Yamoussoukro (220 km northwest), the political capital. The corps is composed of about 500 men. [passage omitted]

President Cancels Party Meeting

AB2903163393 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 29 Mar 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There has been a violent confrontation in the Ivory Coast [Cote d'Ivoire] today between different units of the Armed Forces. The stand-off, involving Republican Guards and regular troops, started around the presidential palace, and it appears to have been result of a dispute over pay. On the line to Abidjan, Robin White asked our West Africa correspondent, Ofeibea Quist-Arcton, who has been down to the scene, what has been happening:

[Begin recording] [Quist-Arcton] Well, the situation is still a bit confused, but according to an Information Ministry communique—and I must say that there seems to be an official blackout for several hours—they say that 45 soldiers from the Republican Guard occupied the Presidential Palace in the early hours of the day, and took three officers—the commander of the presidential vehicle pool and two junior officers—hostage, demanding what the communique called material demands. That is generally taken to mean they want more money, they want a pay rise.

[White] I gather that at one stage some shots were fired?

[Quist-Arcton] That's what I have been told. I've spoken to a couple of people who are repeating stories. That was early this morning—about 2 this morning. Then what seems to have happened next was that some of these mutineers, we think, surrounded President Houphouet-Boigny's office and the nearby offices of Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara. And also it seems that there were similar actions at President Houphouet's private residence in Cocody, which is in the northern part of Abidjan. The offices of the prime minister and the president are in the heart of the city; they are really in the city center. But now it seems that for now the situation is totally under control and the security forces, pro-Houphouet, have thrown a sort of security cordon, blocking the access route to the presidential palace and the prime ministers office, and we are waiting to see what happens next.

[White] But these mutineers are still inside?

[Quist-Arcton] Yeah, most of them.

[White] And where is the president?

[Quist-Arcton] We don't know, but apparently he is not in the presidential palace in the city center. He was apparently meant to be chairing a meeting of his PDCI [Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire] party this morning, but we were told that he canceled it after 20 minutes, saying that it was a little bit dangerous, and he wanted to basically deal with this unexpected problem personally. [end recording]

Salary Reductions Possible in Public, Private Sectors

AB2903185693 Abidjan LA VOIE in French
27, 28 Mar 93 p 2

[Excerpts] Persistent rumors of salary reductions in the public and private sectors have been haunting the streets of Abidjan. The nocturnal meeting that the head of state has been organizing at his Cocody residence with leaders of a certain number of labor and political organizations are signs that enforce this. The people are waiting...

The Ivorian economy is seriously sick, and it is even gripped within a tempest of an unprecedented crisis. Prime Minister Alassane Dramane Ouattara has tried all the magic potions in vain. Houphouet-Boigny clearly intimated this to him during the first meeting of the Political Bureau of Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire-African Democratic Rally [PDCI-RDA]: "Our brother, our friend Alassane has done everything, it did not work..." he admitted. The great Messiah has come down to his native land, henceforth squarely facing the Ivorian reality. Figures of unemployment, prostitution, and the AIDS disease victims show a bleak picture of the degradation of the social fabric. From 1990 to December 1992, that is, within a period of three years, more than a thousand plants and small industrial units have closed down, throwing more than 100,000 workers and families out into the streets.

In fact, the Alassane Ouattara plan has failed and the hopes of thousands of Ivorians have been shattered. The Ivorian economy has fallen back into the Bermuda Triangle, pressed from all sides by the IMF and the World Bank, which are asking to be paid back. They have to be paid back quickly, otherwise the financial pipeline will be tightly closed up. The effects of such a decision seriously threaten the Houphouet-Boigny regime, which has already become fragile. The man, a grand master of desperate moments, wants Ivorians to watch as they are stabbed in the back. In actual fact, by allowing hints to be dropped in political conversations about the possible devaluation of the CFA franc or reduction of salaries in Cote d'Ivoire, Houphouet-Boigny intends to take his revenge on the Ivorian people who have humiliated him. [passage omitted]

For now, the people do not seem to be concerned about such a political and economic set up. They are going about their normal duties while waiting to see what will result from the various PDCI "conclaves," because a reduction in salary does not make sense economically. [passage omitted]

The dismissed personnel will increase the number of unemployed in the ghettos where violence, hate, prostitution, and AIDS have come to stay for good. With the reduction of salaries, the Ivorian Government will probably succeed in paying part of its arrears in debt payments. It will certainly do so by sacrificing Ivorians. And yet since the beginning of the 80's the Ivorian people have been giving everything to the government of this country to resolve the crisis which it created itself by organizing the flight of capital, the embezzlement of public funds... And those responsible for this economic disaster are still enjoying freedom. Some of them are even preparing to take the presidential seat. They should take up their responsibilities. It is their turn to pay up. The people of Cote d'Ivoire are waiting to see.

President Reaffirms Confidence in Prime Minister

AB2903200293 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French
29 Mar 93 p 9

[Text] Deliberations resumed this morning of the Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire-African Democratic Rally [PDCI-RDA] Central Committee and the Political Bureau members at the party house at Cocody on the "state of health of the PDCI-RDA" and the country in an unfavorable socioeconomic context. The president of the Republic, His Excellency Felix Houphouet-Boigny, chairman of the PDCI-RDA, who is conducting the deliberations personally, gave a politically charged speech on 26 March calling on "party leaders for unity and cohesion." He went on to pay a glowing tribute to Prime Minister Alassane Dramane Ouattara.

President Houphouet-Boigny took the opportunity to dispel any equivocation and ambiguities on his relations with the prime minister. After remembering that Cote d'Ivoire is in a presidential regime, he reaffirmed that he is the head of state and head of the executive and that he intends to remain so. He formally renewed his total confidence in the leader of the government. President Houphouet-Boigny thinks that a forced controversy is being waged against his prime minister and feels that the attacks on the prime minister are aimed at him. "There is no power vacuum. I have a prime minister in whom I trust. He is responsible only to me," he stressed.

The party chairman recalled the difficult situation in which the country was at the time he called in Mr. Alassane Ouattara and says he is totally satisfied with the action the prime minister is taking at this moment as head of the government. He then invited members of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau to devote themselves to real problems facing the country at the moment, which are essentially economic and social.

The president then hailed the farmers, the principal architects of the development policy of Cote d'Ivoire, promising to do everything to find a solution aimed at improving the lot of this important socio-professional category.

The working groups will meet this morning at the party house in Cocody where all the ten reports presented on 25 and 26 March will be debated. The meeting will probably end on 30 March.

U.S. Official Holds News Conference Before Departure

*AB2903222493 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 0700 GMT
29 Mar 93*

[Text] After four days of discussions here in Abidjan with a National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] delegation, Jeffrey Davidow, the U.S. undersecretary for African affairs, left for Washington on 28 March. Before his departure from Abidjan, he held a news conference at the Port-Bouet International Airport yesterday afternoon. On the occasion, he said that the United States had no special plan for Angola and that its only concern is to make the resumption of discussions between feuding Angolan brothers possible. Answering a question from Diaby Mamadou, the U.S. undersecretary for African affairs stressed Cote d'Ivoire's contribution to efforts aimed at finding a solution to the Angolan conflict:

[Begin Davidow recording in English, fading into French translation] The contribution of the Government of Cote d'Ivoire has been immense. The government is seen as a valuable interlocutor of Africa's aspirations for peace in Angola. [sentence as heard] President Houphouet-Boigny is respected by both the Angolan Government and by UNITA as well as his minister of foreign affairs [sentence as heard]. Its views are sought and listened to by all the parties concerned.

In response to the first part of your question, the statement which I just read includes elements in which we feel that there is an identity of views between the two sides, not that they are in agreement, but that they have similar views. The document that we released today is just a statement from the Government of the United States. It is not a declaration of agreement between either UNITA or the Angolan Government. [end recording]

Togo

Natchaba Says Attack by 'Ghanaians Trained in Ghana'

AB3003112893 Lome Radio Lome in French 1900 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Fambare Ouattara Natchaba, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, extensively briefed foreign diplomats accredited to Togo on the 25 March attack on the Tokoin Interarms Regiment Camp. He took the opportunity to display the war arsenal seized from the assailants. Flanked by Inoussa Bouraima and Combevi Agbodjan, ministers of national defense and territorial administration and security, Minister Natchaba told the diplomats that the attack prompted three observations:

The security system within the camp did not work; the assailants—Ghanaians trained in Ghana—were mandated to eliminate the head of state and seize the airport in order to disrupt air traffic; and last, from every indication, Togo has become a target for terrorists. The action was masterminded by the opposition.

Mr. Natchaba attributed the recruitment of the assailants and the funding of the operation to Gilchrist Olympio, who capitalized on the complacent attitude of Ghanaian authorities. The minister explained that despite the various goodwill missions dispatched to brief the Ghanaian authorities on the existence in Ghana of armed groups working against Togo, there is a real cause for concern over the support enjoyed in Ghana by the promoters of these activities. In a nutshell, Mr. Natchaba said any such maneuver will not succeed in Togo.

Following Mr. Natchaba's statements, the audience listened to an excerpt of the recorded proclamation which was broadcast by Radio Liberte on the morning of 25 March which mentioned the implication of the Collective of Democratic Opposition II.

Eyadema Reviews Attack on Camp, Casualties

AB2903212093 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 29 Mar 93 p 2, 7

["Exclusive" interview with Togolese President General Gnassingbe Eyadema by reporter Noel Yao in Lome on 27 March; first three paragraphs FRATERNITE MATIN introduction]

[Text] Togolese President General Gnassingbe Eyadema is categorical: "Civil war is not possible in Togo." Following a violent attack on the camp where he resides in Lome, President Eyadema gave his very first exclusive interview to FRATERNITE MATIN. The Togolese head of state met with us for almost one hour at his Lome II private residence on 27 March.

Gen. Eyadema rejected all the accusations which suggest that he is the (real) instigator behind the 25 March attack which led to the death of General Mawulikplimi Ameyi, a southerner and the president's personal chief of staff, and Koffi Tepe, also a southerner, the Togolese Armed Forces (FAT) deputy chief of general staff.

Before the interview with President Eyadema, FRATERNITE MATIN and IVOIR' SOIR had a long interview with Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh on 23 March (we will publish this for you tomorrow).

[Yao] Mr. President, the 25 March attack on the Togolese Interarms Regiment Camp where you live has led to several suppositions and assumptions. What is your interpretation of these events?

[Eyadema] Are you talking about the attack that took place on 24 March? Close to 0300 on the morning of 25 March, I was awakened by the sound of shells and

rockets. I got up immediately. Everywhere, I heard guns firing. The whole camp was practically encircled. Everywhere shells, bombs, and so on were being fired. I wondered what was happening. Is it a coup d'etat? And if it is a coup d'etat, why do they not sound the alarm? Why is it that the camp has not been alerted? I could not understand anything. I had just gone down the stairs when a shell hit my residence. Your two hands could fit into the hole that was created. The explosion knocked some lights out and I went toward the door. I managed to get out, however, and had the alarm sounded. Whenever the alarm is sounded, it means that the nation is in danger. Automatically, assailants know that if they persist, they run the risk of being surrounded. At this point, they began to withdraw, but still shooting. This is what we know about the recent events, but we have gathered some weapons, bombs, and Russian-made grenades.

According to their plan, they were to dress like civilians and then later wear the combat gear on top. In case [the plan] failed, they would just take off the combat gear as they withdrew, throw away the weapons, and blend in with the civilians in Lome.

[Yao] Mr. President, you live in a military camp. Do you not find it strange and abnormal that assailants passed through the entrance so easily?

[Eyadema] It is in order to clarify all this that we have instituted a commission of inquiry. The way the attack was carried out is very strange! At a certain time at night, the door must be firmly locked. How did they open the door? How were they able to succeed if there was no complicity? What we know already is that the attackers painted their vehicles with FAT colors (olive green) and used plates with the FAT inscription on them. When the sentry saw this, he let them enter because vehicles normally come in to get coffee for soldiers who are at various posts in town.

[Yao] Another question on people's minds is that during this armed attack inside the camp, there were no victims among the assailants. The only victims were two senior officers from the south. How do you explain this, Mr. President?

[Eyadema] This is the question we are also asking because all the officers, whether they come from the south or north, live in villas built inside the camp. We do not know how the attackers managed, upon their arrival, to kill these officers before entering, because they fired rockets at my house from a house of one of the officers 20 meters away. This is why I am telling you that the inquiry will shed light on all this. The attackers managed to pile up some objects up to the height of the enclosure over which they climbed and positioned rockets that are pointed at my bed.

[Yao] At that time, you were no longer in your bed?

[Eyadema] I was in bed. This was what woke me up. I was very lucky because I would have not have come out safely.

[Yao] In the interpretation given by your detractors, it is the president himself who fomented this plot to do away with two officers from the south in whom he no longer had much confidence. What do you say about this?

[Eyadema] And what about my aide de camp who is seriously injured? At the time of the attack, he came out of his house and he heard the attackers say: "Now, we are going to launch the attack." He asked them: "You are going to launch the attack on what? At whom?" At that time he was shot in the stomach. He is presently in the hospital. My aide de camp is from the north. He has been with me since he was a sergeant. President Houphouet knows him very well.

I have received the family of Gen. Ameyi (my personal chief of staff, who was killed in the attack.) His wife told me about the conditions under which her husband was killed. Gen. Ameyi heard some shots. He dressed and told his family to take cover. He then went out and while in front of Colonel Tepe's (FAT deputy chief of general staff, who was also killed in the attack) house, he was shot. And now, what do you say?

[Yao] I am not the one saying so. I am merely telling you the interpretation in other circles...

[Eyadema] Okay. Now, the question you asked... if there was anyone in this army that I liked, he (referring to Mr. Folivi Assionghor, principal private secretary to the president, who was present at the interview) knows: It was Ameji. He was the most loyal of all my officers. I knew him as a lieutenant. I posted him to Kara (in the north) where he served as a unit commander. Thereafter, he commanded a battalion, then a regiment, and he was the commanding officer. Later on, when the company commander had some problems, he combined the posts of station and company commander and since he came here, I made him my second in command. If I happened to be absent, he replaced me, from the military standpoint. So if there is anyone I really liked it was Ameji. We were together all the time. After every Cabinet meeting, since he was my personal chief of staff, I used to call him and he came along with me in my car. We used to come home together. He was here every midday. On the day the attack occurred we ate lunch together.

As soon as the attack began, a pirate radio station announced: "We, democratic forces, have taken over power. General Eyadema has been overthrown. We direct all soldiers to prevent him from fleeing."

Addressing the population, this pirate radio, which belongs to the COD-2 (Collective of Democratic Opposition-2), added that these democratic forces had seized power to liberate them. It urged the population to remain calm until such time that they were called out to demonstrate their joy. In other words, they had already claimed responsibility for the attack. I personally did not hear what I have just told you. It was the prime minister who heard it and told me. Many people recorded this statement.

[Yao] COD-2 has just said that it was a parallel radio that carried the statement and not that of the opposition...

[Eyadema, screams with laughter without replying]

[Yao] Mr. President, the assailants are believed to have crossed over from Ghana, and just last week COD-2 suggested the appointment of a new Togolese prime minister after a meeting in Cotonou, Benin. What are your relations today with two of your immediate neighbors, namely Benin to the east and Ghana to the west?

[Eyadema] For Ghana, I quickly drew President Rawlings' attention to what was in the offing. I dispatched the minister of foreign affairs and his colleague of the interior to Accra. We told the Ghanaian authorities: "This is what we are hearing: People are training on Ghanaian soil to attack us." They assured us that they were going to verify the information and that they would take all the necessary steps if it was found to be true. As for Cotonou, after or during a meeting, President Soglo phoned to say that he was not aware of anything, that he was following the legislative elections in France, and that it was not until the next day that he heard the RFI correspondent reporting on what had happened. President Soglo told us that his country would not serve as a base for subversive activities against neighboring countries.

[Yao] Mr. President, that gives us the opportunity to mention the appointment by COD-2 of a new prime minister, Mr. Savi de Tove. Through the government, you have already rejected this proposal. What comments do you have to make today concerning this situation?

[Eyadema] The problem is simple. You followed the Lome Accords. Had the national conference not been what it turned out to be through the fault of the opposition, we would have set an example of democracy in Africa.

It all looks as if you walk into a national conference whose agenda has already been drawn up six months earlier, and when you get seated you are told that that is not the agenda. Later, this national conference was turned into a tribunal dominated by hatred, vengeance, and insults. They elected Mr. Koffigoh by 385 votes, with 312 votes going to his challenger. On 28 August 1991, at the end of the national conference, it was said that the transition period should not exceed one year. At the end of the national conference, they [not further identified] thought it was all over, that they were going to take over power.

I said: Look, we are already on the path to democracy, and I have asked the prime minister to form a union government so that we can move ahead and that was what he did. A joint commission met, examined the issue, and made the proposal that the transition period be extended until 31 December 1992. The prime minister gave his consent. I did likewise. The HCR (High Council of the Republic) also agreed.

By 31 December 1992, they had done nothing. Therefore, since that date, we have been in a state of illegality. As guarantor of the state's continuity, I asked the prime minister to form the government. I issued a decree enabling him to form a government, and that was what Mr. Koffigoh did. They themselves (the opposition leaders) know that they are in a state of illegality: a parliament that comes to the end of its mandate and passes a resolution electing itself back into office—that is illegal.

[Yao] In view of the impasse between the opposition and you as well as the developments of the Togolese crisis, some of your countrymen fear a civil war. Do you think that this is a possibility?

[Eyadema] No, no. A civil war, no! I am a man of peace. A civil war will not benefit anyone. It is easy to destroy, but not easy to rebuild. It is not possible to have a civil war here.

[Yao] Do you sometimes feel that in the face of all these developments and difficulties, that you want to step down?

[Eyadema] You know the conditions under which I came to power. I have never been interested in power. It was back in 1967 that I said I did not support a single-party system. There should at least be two parties, with one in power and the other in the opposition in order to balance the situation. I set up a committee to draw up the Constitution and we provided for two parties. On 12 January 1969, as far as I was concerned, my mission was over since I was presented with the draft Constitution. Therefore I announced that we were going to subject it to voting and after that, the Army's mission would end with free and democratic elections. In the morning, much to our surprise, people took to the streets to say that they no longer wanted a party system and that they wanted the Army to stay in power to maintain peace in the country.

On 17 January, we held an extraordinary meeting and decided to not to step down.

[Yao] Today, are you going to announce your candidacy in the next presidential elections?

[Eyadema] (Going back to the previous question) Do you know that in 1976 I also tried to step down? It was not possible in 1969, nor was it in 1976.

I do not need to become a president before I do something for my country. When you talk of running in the elections, personally, it does not mean anything to me. At the beginning of 1990, I told my friends to hold consultations in order to designate someone to run in the elections because, as I told them, I believe I have done what I can.

[Yao] So, will President Eyadema not contest the next presidential elections?

[Eyadema] (smiles) I am telling you about what happened in 1990. All those whom I contacted, including the

late Gen. Ameji, turned down the proposal. They turned it down and said: "If you leave, what will become of us and our families, what guarantees do you give us?" So, for the moment, I am not a candidate but if the people appeal to me again, I will accept the sacrifice.

[Yao] Outside Togo, you are presented as a general who, with the help of his Army, is preventing democracy. How do you respond to this image that people have of you?

[Eyadema] (Laughs) Who launched the strike? The elections were supposed to have taken place before 31 December 1992. Who blocked the elections with the strike? Is it not them?

Now, how can they talk of democracy and at the same time prepare people for a coup d'etat? They claimed responsibility for the coup d'etat. Thinking that the coup had succeeded, they telephoned some of their friends and now that it has not succeeded, they are saying something else. These are people who cannot be trusted.

Recently, I said: "All that is being said about reconciliation and discussions is useless. We must go to the polls!" It is only the people who can help us out of this impasse.

[Yao] Mr. President, the Baule speech is apparently over with the right in power in France. Do you have any special comments on this?

[Eyadema] I have no comments.

[Yao] When you review the whole democratization process in Togo, all the obstacles, plots, difficulties, and everything else, do you have any special regrets?

[Eyadema] Of course! I have regrets because my country is not what it could be today. It was a country of peace and security, where four international conferences were held daily. But now, with all that is happening, there is nobody, nobody at all. I have a lot of regrets.

[Yao] Mr. President, what do you want for Togo?

[Eyadema] I would like, regardless of everybody's stand, for peace, tolerance, and harmony to reign among the children of this country.

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MARCH 31, 1993

